



THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways
profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to man-
age and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust
and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utter-
ly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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THE
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N^o CXIX.

ART. I.—THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT, 1872.

“NO act which can, in the ordinary use of language, be described as remotely resembling persecution, can be laid to the charge of the Government of India. The most solemn pledges to maintain complete impartiality between different religious persuasions have been given on the most solemn occasions, and they have been observed with the most scrupulous fidelity.”*

Such are the terms in which Mr. J. F. Stephen eulogizes the course of the Indian Government in reference to religious parties and questions, a course which, if accurately described, challenges the hearty endorsement of every friend of human progress. That everything resembling religious persecution is detrimental, not only to religious, but to every other form of mental progress, is a fact indelibly stamped on the pages of history, and admitted even by Dr. Newman, one of the latest apologists for such persecution,† in the frank avowal—“It is said, and truly, that the Church of Rome possessed no great mind in the whole period of persecution,” &c.‡

But in India,—a land teeming with conflicting religions, tenaciously held by vast multitudes, bound together by the venerated associations of countless generations, of holy places and holy days, sustaining, and in turn sustained by, multitudes of priests and teachers, by literature, legend and song, by the fanaticism of many, and the force of custom among all,—any marked interference of the Government with these ancient religious beliefs might kindle a flame of excitement and resistance, such as neither dynastic change, nor foreign rule, tyranny by the zemindar, nor pressure by the tax-gatherer, has been able to arouse. And face to face with the multiplied sects of Hinduism and the

* Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, J. F. Stephen. *Friend of India*, July 24th, 1873.

† Newman's *History of my Reli-*

gious Convictions, p. 47.

‡ Newman's *History of my Religious Convictions*, p. 265.

ignorant fanaticism of the multitudes whose ancestors were forcibly converted to Islam during the rule of the Mahomedan invaders, we have hundreds of Christian ministers and missionaries, men of various lands, languages, and culture, led hither, not by hopes of preferment and pension, but by their zeal for a common object—the extension of the kingdom of Christ: towards these gallant volunteers in the army of Christ and humanity, consecrated to their work by ordination from their respective Churches, and hence authorized representatives of the phase of Christian truth and life which they deem best and fittest, but merging those common differences, to a large extent, in presence of the common enemy, the English rulers of India are in honor and duty bound, as possessors of a common faith, “to maintain complete impartiality between different religious persuasions.”

The Indian Government has reached at a bound, from the vantage ground of political danger and necessity, the “platform” of civil and religious liberty, the goal toward which the people of England and Europe are still painfully toiling; for there the battle for civil and religious liberty and equality has been, and still is, an up-hill and bitter struggle against heaped-up precedents, fossilized relics of ages of ignorance, superstition, and barbarism, against privileged classes and “vested interests,” against every subterfuge and obstacle which human selfishness could, or can, oppose to human progress toward truth, justice, and right. May it not then conduce to the public welfare, in the firmer establishment of the Indian Government on that platform, if we examine how far Mr. Stephen’s words above quoted, and his work in “The Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872,” accord with each other? For, taking Mr. Stephen and his legislative successors at his own estimate—“To govern impartially on these broad principles is to govern justly; and I believe that not only justice itself, but that the honest attempt and desire to be just, is understood and acknowledged in every part of the world alike”^{*}—we must believe that they only ask to have the defects in their work clearly pointed out to them, in order to at once set about remedying the defects, and removing the grievances complained of.

Act XV. of 1872 is described as “An Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to the solemnization in India of the marriages of Christians.” The word “amend” looks back to Act V. of 1865, the preamble of which—“It is expedient to provide *further* for the solemnization of marriages in India,” &c.—suggests the existence of its predecessor, Act XXV. of 1864, which, possessing exactly the same preamble, again points in turn to Act V. of 1852,

^{*} Debate on “Marriage Act Amendment Bill,” *Friend of India*, January 25th, 1872.

the first Indian Marriage Act, entitled, "An Act for giving effect to the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed in the fifteenth year of Her present Majesty, entitled, "An Act for Marriages in India."

Comparing Act V. of 1852 with Act XV. of 1872, we notice, first, a change in the title; that of the former is general, that of the latter, specific—"The *solemnization* of marriages in India;"—another illustration of the fact that change is not always improvement. For "the solemnization of marriages" at once suggests "the Book of Common Prayer," and the sacramental notion of marriage held for ages, and indeed still held, by the dominant "priesthood" in Europe. But in thus apparently assuming this sacramental notion of marriage, the governmental claim to prescribe as to the solemnization of marriages to-day, may be followed to-morrow by a claim to legislate on the "solemnization" of baptism, ordination, the eucharist, circumcision, or any other religious rite or ceremony, Christian, Hindoo, or Mahomedan. It may be said that such a thing is unlikely, but more unlikely things have occurred; and hence the precedent is as objectionable as it is needless. For we look in vain through the Marriage Acts of 1864, 1865, or 1872, which have for their professed object "the *solemnization* of marriage," for any more explicit statement of any act or form of "solemnization" than in Act V. of 1852, or the Act of Parliament on which that Act is based. They indeed state that "marriages may be solemnized by any person who has received episcopal ordination, or by any clergyman of the Church of Scotland, provided that the marriage be solemnized according to the rules, rites, ceremonies, and customs of the Church of which he is a minister;" but they attempt no definition of these, or any, "religious rules, rites, ceremonies, and customs."

Besides, this change in the title of the Act misrepresents its scope and object, which are clearly defined in—

(1) Statutes XIV. and XV. Vict., Cap. 40, Section 20—"It shall be lawful for the Governor-General of India in Council from time to time, by laws and regulations (not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act) to provide for inspection and publication of notices of marriage given under this Act; for the custody and protection from injury of marriage register books; for appeals from and references in case of doubt by the Marriage Registrars in relation to marriages forbidden or protests entered under this Act; for fixing the hours between which marriages may be solemnized under this Act; for appointing the officers to whom certificates are to be transmitted by the Marriage Registrars; and generally for giving effect to the provisions of this Act.

21. " provided that it shall be lawful for the Governor-General of India in Council, from time to time, by laws and regulations

to be made as aforesaid, to provide for the registration of any marriages solemnized in India by persons in holy orders, or of any marriages solemnized then under the provisions of the said Act of the 58th year of King George the Third, Chapter 84, or of any other marriages then solemnized, of which it may appear to the said Governor-General in Council desirable that evidence should be transmitted to England, and to provide for the care and custody of the registers of such marriages, and for the transmission of certificates thereof, to the Secretaries of the Governments of the respective Presidencies or to other officers, and for their sending the same to the Secretary of the East India Company, for the purpose of being delivered to the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England, and also to provide for the authentication of such certificates."

(2) The preamble of Act V. of 1852 (passed in accordance with the Act of Parliament just quoted) defining its nature and scope, simply gives, verbatim, Section 20 given above. Not a word is said therein about *solemnization* of any thing or by any body, but merely of *registration*.

(3) Section 81, Act XV., of 1872 says—"The Secretary to the Local Government and the officers appointed under Section 56 shall send the same certificates, signed by them respectively, to the Secretary of the Government of India in the Home Department, for the purpose of being forwarded to the Secretary of State for India, and delivered to the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages."

(4) Section 7, Chap. III, of "Rules for the submission of Ecclesiastical Returns," issued by the Government in 1871, states—"In addition to the quarterly marriage returns required under Act V. of 1865, the Government requires the submission, for statistical and other purposes, quarterly returns of baptisms, marriages, and burials of European Christians, *i.e.*, of all Christians of European birth or descent, or of mixed European and Native descent."

Thus, while these successive Acts and rules nowhere prescribe or define any solemnity, rite, or ceremony, they repeatedly affirm and imply that their proximate object is "to provide for the *registration* of marriages solemnized in India," the *final* object being the "transmission of the certificates thereof to the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages" in England.

We would, therefore, urge that at the next manipulation of "the Indian Christian Marriage Act" the full title thereof be—"An Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to the *registration* in India of the marriages of Christians," instead of the present misnomer, which misrepresents the nature and purpose of the Act, exceeds the powers granted by the Act of Parliament on which this legislation is based, and merely serves as a precedent which an ultramontane element in the Government may some day use to

inaugurate a reactionary policy directly opposed to those broad principles of justice, and "complete impartiality between different religious persuasions" to which, Mr. Stephen says, the Government of India is solemnly pledged.

Sections 4 and 5 of Act XV. of 1872 are as follow :—

4. "Every marriage between persons, one or both of whom is a Christian or Christians, shall be solemnized in accordance with the provisions of the next following section, and any such marriage solemnized otherwise than in accordance with such provisions *shall be void*.

5. "Marriages may be solemnized in India—

- (1) by any person who has received Episcopal ordination, provided that the marriage be solemnized according to the rules, rites, ceremonies, and customs of the Church of which he is a minister ;
- (2) by any clergyman of the Church of Scotland, provided that the marriage be solemnized according to the rules, rites, ceremonies, and customs of the Church of Scotland ;
- (3) by any minister of religion licensed under this Act to solemnize marriages ;
- (4) by, or in presence of, a Marriage Registrar appointed under this Act ;
- (5) by any person licensed under this Act to grant certificates of marriage between Native Christians."

We have thus provided for us an elaborate classification of "ministers of religion,"—1st, those who have received Episcopal ordination ; 2nd, those who have not : these again are sub-divided into (1) ministers of the Church of Scotland, (2) ministers of religion licensed under this Act, and (3) ministers of religion *not* licensed. The first section in the two classes is composed of those who by reason, or on account, of their ordination are recognized as possessing sufficient authority in themselves to "solemnize" a marriage. Episcopal ordination and Presbyterian ordination *in the Church of Scotland* are thus considered equivalents in virtue and authority ; but all other forms thereof, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, &c. &c., are regarded as worthless, unless the Government of India, in the plenitude of its grace, grant to some or any of these *half* ordained "ministers of religion," its "license," which will, for most of the interests and purposes of the Act (not all), render their ordination equal to Episcopal or first class Presbyterian ordination. But on what principle the Indian Government decides that ordination in the Church of Scotland, one small section of the great Presbyterian body, is first class, and that by all the rest of the body second class, we are left to conjecture as best we may.

We have thus a series of theological equations provided for our study :—(1) Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, &c., ordination +

"license under this Act" = (2) Presbyterian ordination in the Church of Scotland = (3) Episcopal ordination. But should any "minister of religion," unable to perceive the relative value of the terms employed in the first equation, read it thus: Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, &c., ordination = Presbyterian ordination in the Church of Scotland, or Episcopal ordination, an extended course of theological instruction is provided for him in Section 68,—"Whoever, not being authorized under this Act to solemnize a marriage in the absence of a Marriage Registrar of the District in which such marriage is solemnized, knowingly solemnizes a marriage between persons one or both of whom is, or are, a Christian or Christians, shall be punished with imprisonment, which may extend to ten years, or (in lieu of a sentence of imprisonment for seven years or upwards) with transportation for a term of not less than seven years and not exceeding ten; or if the offender be a European or American, with penal servitude according to the provisions of Act XXIV. of 1855 (to substitute penal servitude for the punishment of transportation in respect of European and American convicts, &c.), and shall also be liable to fine."

Ample facilities will doubtless be afforded, amid the solitudes and convict gangs of the Andaman Islands, to such ill-educated theologians to study thoroughly the infinite difference between Episcopal ordination and that by second class Presbyterians, Lutherans, Wesleyans, &c.; and should he survive the course of study prescribed by the Act (which is doubtful), he will return to his duties as a "minister of religion," a wiser, though a sadder man, deeply impressed with the awful sanctity of Episcopal ordination, and the vanity of all other forms thereof.

It has lately been urged upon the different mission societies in England and America by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, that they should unite in sending out, alternately from England and America, two of their ablest ministers, irrespective of denominational questions, who should make a seven months' tour of the Indian cities, and by their presence and labours stir up the zeal of the Indian churches. Let us now imagine Dr. Begg or Dr. Duff of Scotland, Dr. Punshon or Dr. Landels of England, or Dr. Cuyler or Dr. Talmadge of America, responding to this call. On the occasion of some great meeting in the Scotch Kirk or elsewhere, one of them is asked to solemnize the marriage of some young couple in place of, say, the absent Scotch minister; and as he had often done so at home, by virtue of his ordination, he complies with pleasure.

The ceremony is duly solemnized according to the rules, rites, ceremonies, and customs, say, of the Church of Scotland, the congregation disperse, the happy couple go off to the bridal feast amid general congratulation — to learn next day that

they are not married at all, but merely living in a state of legal fornication, and that the Doctor, in publicly solemnizing their marriage, had committed a felony, and is now under arrest, with the certain prospect of ending his Indian tour by an enforced sojourn of ten years at the Andamans !

Let it not be said that such a thing is impossible. We are told that a well-known Presbyterian minister in Calcutta was once asked to perform the ceremony of marriage for a couple of friends, but, being "unlicensed," and there not being time to apply for the "ticket-of-leave" from the Government, he asked a high official whether he would really incur any risk by solemnizing the marriage without a license, as did the ministers of the Anglican and Romish Churches. The reply was, that while no honorable man would, under the circumstances, think of making any charge against him, yet should any cantankerous person choose to make a noise about it, the Government would be obliged to prosecute ; and, so far as he saw, there could be no escape from the threatened penalties of fine, imprisonment, or transportation. Here, then, is a brilliant illustration of "complete impartiality between different religious persuasions." A law is passed, making the public and *bond fide* solemnization of a religious rite by the ministers of certain excepted "persuasions" a *felony*,—a law that no man of honour would set in motion, though any one might use it as a weapon to inflict irreparable harm on some minister of religion, and lasting injury on the interests of society and religion. That such cantankerous spirits exist, none will deny who see the reckless disregard of law and order exhibited of late by the exponents of so-called "Church principles," who refuse to read the prayers "for the High Court of Parliament," which by law and religion they are bound to do, and tell their Bishops (vide *Church Times*) that "those of them who are held in the highest regard are not the tools of a party, nor hunters after safeness and popularity, *far less the toadies of an irreligious and Non-conformist Court.*"

Leaving the ill-educated Doctor to resume his theological studies in the Calcutta jail, we turn back to the bride and bridegroom of a day, and enquire—on what ground their marriage, so performed, can be said to "*be void*," as is alleged in Section 4 of the Act. For the marriage took place *in facie ecclesiae*, with the full consent of all the parties concerned, in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the Church in which it was performed, by a regularly ordained Presbyterian, Baptist, or Lutheran minister, was duly "registered" and "witnessed," and after due notice given ; yet it is affirmed to be null and "void," on the ground that the ordination of the minister of religion who solemnized the marriage was imperfect, as compared with ordination by a bishop or by a

Presbytery of the Church of Scotland, albeit his ordination may have been *exactly the same* in manner and degree as that practised in the latter Church, which is pronounced by the Government to be first class ordination !

How far such legislation agrees with the broad principles of justice, and the most solemn pledges to maintain *complete impartiality* between different religious persuasions, needs little penetration or legal lore to discover. For the marriage relation is independent of all questions of creed, sect, or religion, and depends no more on the validity or form of ordaining Christian ministers than does birth or death. People "marry and are given in marriage," are born and die, whether they or their relations, &c., believe in one or many gods, whether they profess this, that, or no religion. The marriage relation lies at the basis of social existence, and to make its validity depend on ordination by this or the other Christian sect, is to cast to the winds the solemn pledges above-mentioned, and to re-affirm the retrograde edict of the Council of Trent, "that after that date all marriages not contracted in presence of a priest and two or three witnesses shall be null and void."

For, according to Roman law, the basis alike of the common and canon law of Christendom, marriage was purely a civil contract. Among the early barbarian codes, no mention is made of this ceremony, and in the history of Gregory of Tours, marriage is treated as a civil contract. Blackstone observes, the intervention of a priest to solemnize this contract is merely *juris positivi*, not "*juris naturalis aut divini*."*

Pope Innocent III. first ordered the celebration of marriage in the Church, before which it was totally a civil contract. And in the times of the Commonwealth, all marriages were performed by justices of the peace, and after the Restoration these marriages were declared valid without any fresh solemnization.†

In Scotland, a public or regular marriage may be celebrated by any minister after the publication of banns ; but even without this public ceremony, the deliberate interchange of matrimonial consent by words *de presenti*, the promise of marriage followed by consummation, at least when followed by an action of declarator in the Court of Session, or the living together as reputed man and wife, though termed clandestine, or irregular marriages, yet, if the matrimonial consent was seriously and deliberately interposed, are equally effectual with regular marriages ; though they expose all concerned in them to certain statutory penalties, which, however, are seldom, if ever, inflicted in modern times.‡

* Lord Magkenzie on Roman Law, 3rd Ed., p. 104.

† Lord Mackenzie on Roman Law, 3rd Ed., p. 111, and *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 16, p. 436.

‡ Broom's Commentaries on the laws of England, p. 529.

In France, the decree of the Council of Trent above alluded to was denounced as a priestly usurpation, and never allowed to have had force. After the Revolution of 1793, and under the Code Napoleon, marriage was declared to be a civil contract, which the law separates entirely from the sacrament of marriage, leaving the laws of the Church and the nuptial benediction binding only on the consciences of the faithful.*

Germany and Austria, too, following in the wake of France, in spite of the anathemas of the Vatican, have restored the ancient legislation by their civil marriage laws.

In most of the United States of America, a marriage is valid, provided it takes place after the usual publication of banns, or previous registration of the intention of marriage in the office of the town or county clerk, with consent of the parents in the case of minors, in the presence, and with consent of, a magistrate, or any stated or ordained minister of religion.†

Thus the almost universal consensus of opinion throughout Christendom, and, indeed, throughout all countries and ages, so far from insisting on peculiar views or forms of ordination as the basis of a valid marriage, tends to separate it from all connection with ordination, clerical intervention, or religious ceremonial, putting an end to a priestly usurpation of the dark ages.

Besides, the Act itself, by affirming the validity of marriages solemnized by Marriage Registrars, with no other form than the interchange of matrimonial consent in the presence of witnesses, implies the non-necessity of any ordination whatever in the person officiating, and hence stultifies itself by laying down these invidious distinctions in the ordination of ministers of different religious persuasions.

We think it has now been clearly shown that neither the absence of the Registrar at the time of the solemnization of marriage by any ordained minister of religion, nor any alleged insufficiency in that ordination, provided it was performed in accordance with the rules, rites, and customs of the Church of which he is a minister, should, either in law or justice, make "void" any marriage between persons, one or both of whom is or are a Christian or Christians, in which all the other requirements of the law for the registration of marriage, notice or banns, registration, witnesses, consent of parents, &c., have been complied with; and hence, in the name of these solemn pledges to maintain complete impartiality, &c., of which Mr. Stephen speaks so strongly, we would urge that Section 5 of Act XV. of 1872 be amended thus:

* Kent's Commentaries, p. 59.

† Kent's Commentaries on American Law.

5. "Marriages may be solemnized in India—

- (1) by any regularly ordained minister of religion, provided that the marriage be solemnized according to the rules, rites, ceremonies, and customs of the Church of which he is a minister;
- (2) by, or in the presence of, any Marriage Registrar appointed under this Act."

Section 12 should read, "whenever a marriage is intended to be solemnized by any ordained minister of religion."

Section 68 will then be aimed, not as now, as a brand of social, religious, and political degradation, against the Non-conformist clergy, but against any one who, with evil intent, "falsely personates" a regularly ordained Christian minister of religion, like in scope and purpose to Section 170, Indian Penal Code, against "personating a public servant."

Let us now return to the good doctor whom we left in jail, ruminating on the crime of publicly performing a religious ceremony by virtue of his Presbyterian or Congregationalist ordination, fondly imagining that Presbyterian ordination, with its appertaining powers, duties, &c., is the same in India as in Scotland, America, &c. The near prospect of the Andamans sharpens his mental vision. He sees now that the sea-air on the voyage out, or the Indian air on landing, has vitiated his ordination; still he and every one else is greatly puzzled to account for the fact that these meteorological influences have had no effect on exactly the same form of ordination in the Church of Scotland, while they have a powerfully strengthening influence, comparatively speaking, on Anglican and Roman ordination. It hardly needs the heaps of letters and the levées of sympathizing friends crowding daily to see him, to assure him that he has right on his side; the old covenanter blood is aroused, the hallowed memories of the long struggle for civil and religious liberty that has made sacred many a glen and hillside in "Auld Scotia" crowd around and beckon him on. The regrets of honourable officials, the whispers of *nolle prosequi*, are set aside; and taking his stand on his right as a free citizen and subject of the Empire, he demands that cause be shown why he, and hundreds of ordained ministers with him, should be deprived of the rights and privileges conferred on them by ordination equally with "ministers of religion" of the Roman and Anglican Churches; why he and they should be treated as felons *in posse*, and menaced with fine, imprisonment, and transportation, if they dare to exercise the right of publicly solemnizing the marriage ceremony between two of their co-religionists without let or license from Government,—a right exercised unquestioned by Romish, Anglican, and Hindoo "priests," Mahomedan moulvies, and aboriginal sorcerers,

Forty years ago, none save a few bigoted "priests" and priestlings questioned the right of Non-conformist missionaries to solemnize marriages between their converts and fellow-believers; and in many a mission, old registers of marriages and burials are found, relics of "the days before the flood" of legislation on Christian marriages in India.

Why were they deprived of this right—what rebellion or conspiracy against "the powers that be" had they been guilty of? The only explanation (reply it is not) is found in the words of the then Bishop of Calcutta, who expressed his fears, "if a person, calling himself a dissenting minister, is now for the first time, since England was a Christian nation, to stand in the place of the priest in holy orders, with the authority of a Divine commission, derived through successive consecrations and ordinations from the Apostolic ages."*

Poor "priest"! His first thought is for his endangered "priestcraft," his next for English barbaric precedents; but he has no thought for Christ and his Kingdom, for liberty, truth, and humanity! We are thus compelled, unwillingly, to conclude that our legislators, in their laudable endeavours to widen the basis of English law in India by legalizing Non-conformist marriages, were then, and since, overborne by "priestly" intolerance and superstition.

But since that time a new state of things has arisen. The Honourable East India Company, with its traditional policy of hostility to "interlopers" of every kind—civil, military and religious, has passed away, and Queen Victoria, not John Kumpany, is Ruler of Hindostan. The proclamation which inaugurated the new reign, the Magna Charta of Indian liberties, says,—“Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our religious convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith and observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.”

Taking his stand, therefore, on the Imperial Proclamation, the Doctor, with his friends and defenders, regards the Act as an infringement of the rights solemnly guaranteed to him and to all by that document, and demands the grounds on which, in defiance thereof, ministers of religion ordained in the Free Church of Scot-

* *Indian Evangelical Review*, July 874, p. 5.

land or other Presbyterian Churches, in the Baptist, Lutheran, and other Churches, are treated in a way altogether different from that which they would experience were they to receive, or had they received, ordination in the Roman, Anglican, Armenian, &c., Churches, or in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland? He denies that the public *bonâ fide* observance of a religious rite can be construed as a crime, either in reason, law, or justice. The obscurest Hindoo village priest or Mahomedan moulvie, the most illiterate Goa or Armenian priest, or the bitterest hater of Protestant institutions among the Jesuit priests in India, may solemnize marriages between their co-religionists without let or license from Government; and since no reason has been, or can be, shown why the Non-conformist clergy should be deprived of this universal right, they cannot be held to be deprived thereof by the blunder of the framers of Act XV. of 1872.

For the questions involving differences of opinion about ordination go far deeper than those respecting the rites and ceremonies of marriage, and hence assume more nearly the character of religious beliefs and rival creeds. The Romanist denies the validity of the ordination given by any Church which does not own allegiance to the Pope, affirming that "he who listens not to him, declares himself as no longer appertaining to the Church, no longer making part of Christ's flock, and hence as no longer having a right to the kingdom of heaven."* The Anglican, copying that example of mediæval bigotry, thinks that he has fallen on degenerate days, "if a person calling himself a dissenting minister is now for the first time, since England was a Christian nation, to stand in place of the priest in holy orders, with the authority of a Divine commission, derived through successive consecrations and ordinations from Apostolic ages." The Presbyterian, Baptist, &c., holds ordination by any recognized body of Christians as equally valid, provided the subject thereof manifest the work of the Spirit within him by holy life and labours.

Yet each of these communities recognize and practice, in the way that seems best to them, the custom of ordination, *i.e.*, the public setting apart of persons to the special work of the Christian ministry, who shall teach, ordain, administer the sacraments, &c., in the Church or community thus recognizing them. The *form*, indeed, differs,—the *thing* is the same in all. But the broad principles of justice, the Proclamation of 1858, and its "solemn pledges to maintain complete impartiality between different religions" utterly preclude the Government of India from assuming, even by implication, that this form of ordination is right, and that wrong;

* Dr. Pusey's *Eirēnicon*, p. 304, footnote.

that this body of Christians is orthodox, and that heterodox ; by thus markedly "favouring" those who, wrapping themselves in priestly pride, set at defiance Scripture, reason, and fact by assuming that they alone possess a Christian ministry and the gift of the Spirit of God.

Should the Government, rejecting this defence and protest, persist in inflicting the punishment, and send this distinguished English, Scotch, or American minister to the Andamans, ostensibly for the *bond fide* performance of a religious rite forbidden to him by Indian law, really for a difference of opinion in reference to ordination and Church government, we may well imagine the whirlwind of excitement that, beginning in Calcutta, and spreading over India, growing in volume as it reached England, would be caught up by city after city, and, penetrating to the remotest glens and hamlets of Scotland and Ulster, would set the land aflame. If he were an American, it would burst out in mass-meetings, of not the most pacific character, in the busy cities along the seaboard ; the puritan spirit of New England would speak out again with its ancient vehemence at being thus brought face to face with Prelacy, its ancient foe ; that cry would roll back in ten-fold volume from the Great West beyond, while across the Atlantic it would be echoed back by the general execrations of the Liberals in Germany and Europe. No ministry, backed by the greatest majority ever known, would stand against it a month ; while the only allies of the Indian Government in such case would be the ultramontane party in Germany, Italy, France, England, and Ireland, and the savage Carlists of Northern Spain, who would all hail with "glorias" innumerable this appearance of the Indian Government as the last great champion of mediæval bigotry and superstition.

But not for long. Borne on the wave of the popular indignation, and reflecting it in tone, the Royal mandate would come, reiterating the terms of the Proclamation of 1858, demanding and ordering that "*none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances ;*" that the individual so unjustly treated be released and compensated as far as possible, the obnoxious law amended, and that, for the future, "the most solemn pledges to maintain complete impartiality between different religious persuasions, given by the Government on the most solemn occasions," be "observed with the most scrupulous fidelity."

Such, we feel sure, would be the outcome of any such struggle as that just depicted, should the Government require to be thus forcibly reminded of its pledges ; but we feel equally sure that such a struggle will be averted by the Government gracefully yielding the points at issue rather than risk such a calamity, for a calamity

it would most assuredly be, should the idea pervade India that the Government had broken its pledges as to complete religious neutrality, &c., even in regard to its own co-religionists, and hence that it might still less scruple to disregard them, when a favorable opportunity presented itself, in reference to Hindoos and Mahomedans. Let us then turn again to the Act, and show yet further its need of amendment.

Section 10 states that "every marriage under this Act shall be solemnized between the hours of six in the morning and seven in the evening. *Provided* that nothing in this section shall apply to (1) a clergyman of the Church of England solemnizing a marriage under a special license under the hand and seal of the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese, or his commissary; or (2) a clergyman of the Church of Rome solemnizing a marriage when he has received a general or special license in that behalf from the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese or Vicariate in which such marriage is so solemnized, or from such person as the same Bishop has authorized to grant such license."

And *Section 69* states that "whoever knowingly and wilfully solemnizes a marriage between persons, one or both of whom is or are a Christian or Christians, at any time other than between the hours of six in the morning and seven in the evening, or in the absence of at least two credible witnesses other than the person solemnizing the marriage, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine."

"This section does not apply to marriages solemnized under special licenses granted by the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese, or by his commissary, nor to marriages performed between the hours of seven in the evening and six in the morning by a clergyman of the Church of Rome, when he has received the general or special license in that behalf mentioned in *Section 10*."

Reading Mr. Stephen's words in the light of these sections, we learn that the "most complete impartiality," &c., implies the granting to Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Christians of the Anglican and Romish Churches permission to solemnize marriages, under certain conditions, at any time of the day or night that may be convenient to them; but this right or privilege is denied to all other Christian sects, and should they presume to consider themselves entitled to equal rights and privileges with Anglicans and Romanists, and act upon that idea, they "shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine."

Now, we see no good reason why all marriages may not take place within the hours prescribed; but the question here is—why should the above exceptional privilege be granted to Anglicans and Romanists, and denied to Christians of all other "persuasions"?

Are Lutherans, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, &c., so much more given to immorality, &c., than Anglicans, Romanists, Hindoos, and Mahomedans, as to require these "penal laws" to keep them in order on the subject of marriage? The only explanation to be gathered from the Act itself is that they have no "Bishops," "Commissaries," "Vicariates," &c., and hence cannot expect equal rights with those indulging in these expensive luxuries.

Again, Section 70 enacts that "Any minister of religion licensed to solemnize marriages under this Act solemnizing without notice, or within fourteen days after notice, marriage with a minor, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine"; while Section 73 says that "whoever being authorized under this Act to solemnize a marriage (*other than the clergy of the Churches of England, Scotland, and Rome*) shall issue certificate, or solemnize without notice, or after expiry of certificate, or issues certificate for, or solemnizes marriage with a minor within fourteen days after notice, or issues certificate or solemnizes marriage authorizedly forbidden, shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to four years, and shall also be liable to fine.

Here, then, are two sections denouncing, the one three, the other four years' imprisonment, and fine against *exactly the same* crime and misdemeanour, from the penalties of which, *even when amenable to them*, the clergy of the Churches of England, Scotland, and Rome are specially exempted. If the penalties of Section 70 be sufficient, what need of the increased term in Section 73? Or is it intended to inflict *both* penalties on the offender, and if so, why not at once have said *seven* years?

On what ground the Anglican and Romish clergy are thus markedly "favored" and exempted from the operation of this law, we are utterly at a loss to conjecture. If the regulations, obedience to which is here enforced under threat of fine and imprisonment, be for the good of the community, why should they not be imposed on all the Christian clergy alike? If not, why should they be imposed on any? Will it be said that the possession of "Church principles" insures the accurate performance of their duties by the "favored" clergy, while the standing menace of fine and imprisonment is needed to impart loyalty and common sense to the clergy of other "religious persuasions"? A glance at the Ritualist vagaries now disturbing England is a sufficient reply. Will it be said that the rules, rites, and customs of these Churches ensure due attention to the regulations imposed on the clergy of other sects in default of similar rules and customs among them? But no rule, rite or custom of the Anglican, Scotch, or Romish Church forbids the marriage of minors, or requires their clergy to ascertain all the antecedent circumstances of those

applying for marriage at their hands. The Anglican "banns" contain the general exhortation—"If any of you know cause or just impediment why these two persons should not be joined together in holy matrimony, ye are to declare it"—but it would be absurd to construe this as forbidding the marriage of minors, &c.; the Scotch and Romish Churches do even less than this, if it be possible. Nor does any rule, rite, or custom in the Lutheran Presbyterian, Baptist, &c. Churches forbid their clergy to give as much publicity to each marriage as if it occurred in any Anglican, Scotch or Romish Church. The implied assumption that "Episcopal ordination" endows the Roman and Anglican clergy with supernatural sense and discretion, the lack of which, in clergy otherwise ordained, must be supplied by "license," "penal laws," fine, imprisonment, and transportation, hardly accords with the following statement in the *Friend of India*, May 7th, 1874—"Recent irregular marriages have drawn forth from the Registrar of the Diocese of Calcutta a circular which begins thus: 'As several marriages have of late been solemnized by clergymen which should not have been performed, and which would never have taken place, if proper inquiries had been made, or due precautions taken, the Lord Bishop desires me to state that one of the parties to be married should reside in the station or district for four days immediately preceding the granting a license. Those four days will give the Surrogate some little time to make due enquiries as to whether there is any lawful hindrance to the marriage, and when either or both of the parties is, or are, a minor or minors, or in case another person joins in the affidavit on behalf of a person not present, whether the consent required by law has been obtained, or that there is no person resident in India having authority to give such consent, &c. &c.'"

Commenting on this statement, the *Indo-European Correspondence** says, it knows of more than one case where parties who have been refused marriage by priests, for reasons equally binding on Protestant and Roman Catholic, have been married in the Church of England." In the face of these and similar statements which might be gathered, made by acknowledged representatives of the "favored" Churches, we may well ask why were these offenders exempted from punishment for their acknowledged misdemeanours, and why do not the four or five hundred† ordained clergy, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, &c. &c., now under the "ban" of this law, perceive the blessed effects of "Episcopal ordination" so *forcibly* set forth hereby, and become entitled to like "benefit of clergy"? Why persist in ignoring

* *Friend of India*, May 14th, 1874.

† Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions for 1871, B. M. Press, 1873.

the wonderful virtues flowing from the touch of a Bishop's hands, conveying complete immunity from the "penal laws" under which they now lie?

But since their conversion to Episcopacy is, in these democratic days, more unlikely than ever, is it worth while for the Government of India to ignore or violate its pledges for the sake of specially favouring those who are Episcopalians? By all means let them have as many bishops and priests as they care to support, we only ask that those who regard these functionaries as obsolete or useless, should neither be compelled to support them, nor be placed under pains and penalties, fines and imprisonment, because they refuse to believe in them. In common justice, we ask that the Government of India "observe with the most scrupulous fidelity its most solemn pledges to maintain complete impartiality between different religious persuasions."

In addition therefore to the amendments already suggested, we would add—

1. That Section 10 of the Act be changed to—"Every marriage under this Act shall be solemnized between the hours of six in the morning and seven in the evening; *unless* a special license, dispensing with this regulation for good and sufficient reasons in any particular case, be procured by the minister of religion, or the Marriage Registrar solemnizing the same, from the Senior Marriage Registrar of the District in which such marriage is solemnized."

This form of the enactment would have the additional public advantage, that the Senior Marriage Registrar, being a resident of the district, would be more likely to know the truth as to the circumstances, &c., of those applying for a special license to marry, than some bishop or commissary, 500 miles away.

2. In place of the latter clause of Section 69 let there be—"This section does not apply to marriages solemnized under the special license mentioned in Section 10."

3. In place of the inconsistencies and omissions of Sections 70 and 73, so markedly aimed at the Non-conformist, in favour of the Anglican and Romish clergy, we would suggest that the superfluous Section 70 be struck out, and the second, third, and fourth clauses of Section 73 (which directly violate the Royal pledges of 1838) be rescinded, so as to make the law applicable to all the clergy alike, instead of, as now, specially exempting the Anglican, Scotch, and Romish clergy from its penalties, even when guilty of transgressing the law.

Take, again, Section 82—"Fees shall be chargeable under this Act for receiving and publishing notices of marriages, issuing certificates of marriage by Marriage Registrars, and registering marriages by the same," &c. &c.

The amount of the fees is not specified in the Act itself, reminding one of the indefiniteness of Act V. of 1865 on this point ; an indefiniteness so marked as to make it uncertain whether fees were to be charged on marriages under the Act or not. Some Registrars charged those demanded under Act V. of 1852, others charged none. Appeal to Magistrates and Commissioners was useless—they could not tell. Finally, a “Circular Order” came round prescribing those under Act V. of 1852 :—

			Rs.
Notice of marriage	...	...	1
Publishing notice	...	...	2
Issuing certificate	...	...	5
Registering marriage	...	...	3

Total Rs. 11

May we not regard this hesitancy and studied indefiniteness about the fees to be paid by those married by a Registrar or a “minister of religion licensed to solemnize marriages,” as indicating the existence of an uneasy conscience somewhere in the constitution of the Government of India? For no one will pretend that this Rs. 11 is the actual cost of the notice papers, register books, &c., used in registering each marriage ; it is therefore simply a tax on Christian marriages collected under the name of “fees.” Besides, the demand is exclusively limited to marriages solemnized by “Marriage Registrars” and “ministers licensed under this Act,” exempting those solemnized “by any person who has received episcopal ordination.”

Some time ago, the rumour that a marriage tax was about to be levied created great excitement among the inhabitants of another Presidency ; but here is a marriage tax levied, not on the people at large, but exclusively on the professors of one religion ; and not on all these either, but only on those who, unfortunately for themselves, prefer that their marriages shall be solemnized by their own ministers of religion, or by a Marriage Registrar rather than by any “priest,” Anglican, Romish, or Hindoo. The only tax we can liken it to is the Mahomedan *jizsia*, collected from those *kafirs* whom it was found impossible to convert, unprofitable to expatriate or exterminate,—a tax readily paid as the alternative of being “molested” for their religious belief, imprisoned and plundered, or incessantly knocked on the head.

We admit that the Non-conformist *kafirs* also cheerfully pay the tax in question, a cheerfulness due chiefly, doubtless, to the glamour of the approaching “honey-moon ;” but though the cost of collecting this Rs. 11 tax be *nil*, we doubt whether all can be placed to the *credit* side of the account when balanced by unkept

pledges on the *debtor* side of the ledger. But whether it be a tax or not, cheerfully paid or otherwise, this much is clear—it is directly opposed to the injunctions of the Royal Proclamation referred to, ‘that none be in any wise *favoured*, none *molested* or *disquieted*, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the *equal, impartial*, protection of the law.”

Will it be too much, then, to urge upon our legislators that they should either demand *registration* fees in all cases of marriage between persons, one or both of whom is, or are, a Christian or Christians, or—of none. Further, that “fidelity” to its “solemn pledges” demands of the Government of India that a marriage tax, for this is nothing else, be either levied on all religions alike, or on none. A law for the compulsory registration of *all* marriages, of whatever creed or race, charging the uniform fee of Re. 1 for each, would be beneficial to all, objected to by none; would be entirely free from the invidious character of the present Christian marriage tax, and far more profitable as a source of revenue. It would be an imperial measure aiming at the good of all, instead of the present levy of a tax on Non-conformist Christians as a consequence of their “religious belief.”

In conclusion, we think it has been clearly shown that Mr. Stephen’s assertion—that “No Act, which can in the ordinary use of language be described as remotely resembling persecution, can be laid to the charge of the Government of India. The most solemn pledges to maintain complete impartiality between different religious persuasions have been given on the most solemn occasions, and they have been observed with the most scrupulous fidelity,”—is manifestly incorrect, so long as Act XV. of 1872 remains unaltered; and since he was the chief framer of that Act, he either misunderstood, or for the time being ignored, those pledges and broad principles of justice which we have seen he extols so highly.

We are compelled mournfully to regard it as another illustration of Mr. J. S. Mill’s words,*—“Wherever there is an ascendant class, a large portion of the morality of the country emanates from its class interests and its feelings of class superiority.” Until, therefore, that Act is amended and re-constructed in accordance with the broad principles, the solemn pledges, and Royal Proclamation so frequently referred to in these pages, we must, in the name of public morality, justice, and right, protest against Mr. Stephen’s misrepresentations, and ask that, in deference to truth and justice, he rescind the passage in question from the next edition of his book, or else append thereto the qualifying clause, by footnote

* Essay on Liberty.

20 *The Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872.*

or otherwise "except as regards the present Indian Christian Marriage Act and the Christian Non-conformists in India."

But whether he does so or not, the Non-conformists, while continuing to exercise their right to demand equal civil and religious rights with, and for all, will go on loyal as ever to law, because loyal to Christ their only acknowledged head and law-giver; hostile as ever to priestcraft and superstition, wherever and however they may show themselves; hoping, praying, and working for the time when India, like other English colonies, shall firmly plant itself on the platform of civil and religious liberty and equality, and with "scrupulous fidelity maintain complete impartiality between different religious persuasions."

ART. II.—HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

PART I.—THE SIKHS IN THE UPPER DOAB.

CONSIDERING the almost romantic interest which everything connected with the history of our once formidable antagonists, the Sikhs, bears to the English reader, it is strange that little has ever been written, and still less is generally known about their numerous inroads into the country extending from the foot of the hills where stands the sanitarium of Mussooree, down to the fords of the Jumna opposite Delhi, and bounded on either side by that river and the Ganges (a tract now divided into the modern districts of Dehra Doon, Saharanpore, Mozuffernugger, and Meerut), towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present. Some notices, it is true, are to be found in the standard histories, of Sikh irruptions as far as Delhi and even beyond the Ganges, but all such references are too brief to convey an adequate idea of the relations subsisting between the *sirdárs* and the inhabitants of the Upper Doab during the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire. Yet there is no lack of materials for re-constructing the history of the troubled period of which it is my intention to re-call some of the more striking episodes. Those materials are, indeed, far from being so abundant as they were a few short years ago; oral tradition grows daily fainter as it comes in contact with an alien civilisation; while the progress of time, or the ignorant indifference of man himself, has caused the destruction of many of our most valuable official documents. Still much has been saved from the wreck, and he who runs may read the annals of the day in the local folk lore, the diaries and miscellaneous archives of the old families, and the musty, mutilated records of the Collector's office. The first source of information, though, of course, less accurate with regard to isolated facts, perhaps gives the most vivid notion of the past; and, if he once feel assured that a confidential talk on general subjects is not an insidious introduction to a canting sermon about education, female infanticide, sanitation, &c., the village elder is always willing to entertain one with anecdotes of the stirring days when the hand that guided the plough was equally familiar with the handle of the *tulwár* and the shaft of the spear. Remarkable instances of longevity in a tract which, in spite of what philosophers skilled in the lore of Laputa may say to the contrary, produces races ranking among the most robust of our Indian peasantry, are, moreover, very common, and the writer has himself spoken to patriarchs who remembered George

Thomas—popularly called *Jeház Sáhib*, “the Skipper”—the only man, except Perron, whom the *Sikh Sak Log* feared under the Mahratta government. As to the events immediately succeeding Lord Lake’s campaign of 1803, they were lately fresh in the memory of many. On the whole, tradition may be generally depended upon exactly where we most need it, that is to say, from the date of Nujeeb u’-dowlah’s sudden elevation to power down to the year of the conquest. In the interval the people were either in a chronic state of rebellion or engaged in coping with the intruders from beyond the Jumna. They, therefore, took a direct interest in politics, a thing now no longer possible, and handed down their experiences from father to son with wonderful fidelity to the truth. Nor have their descendants any inducement to distort facts thus transmitted. Again, your Rájput, Goojur, or Ját of the better class (these are the three leading castes) is almost always a man of fair intelligence, possessing no slight understanding of the nature of historic evidence. He seldom fails to substantiate his story by pointing to localities where half-filled moats or ruined forts mark the scene of many a hard fight, bearing silent testimony to the truth of his tale; he will often fix the date of an event by indicating another bearing sequence to it, and not unfrequently will he refer his audience to documentary proof buried amid the litter of the *duster*. But the most trustworthy authorities are, no doubt, the members of the older Mahommedan families, whose ancestors, most of them military colonists, some religious propagandists, were objects of inveterate hatred to the *sirdárs* and consequently the first to bear the brunt of their attacks, whereas the wild Ranghurs* and Goojurs often joined them. Among these are the Peerzádahs of Umbelitalah and Behut, two old towns in Saharanpore, and the Sheikhs of Nanoutah in the same district; the Wurukzai Patháns of Jellalabad, the Afreedee Patháns of Loharee, and the Bárhá Seyuds, all residents of Mozuffernugger. I may add that where it is possible to test oral tradition by documentary evidence, the difference between them often proves to be so slight that it becomes a mere matter of opinion which of the two it is safer to rely upon. Even then where the latter fails us, the reader may follow me back to the last century with the assurance that his confidence will not be abused.

The first Sikh invasion, 1710 A.D.—The first Sikh irruption, an event cursorily noticed in the pages of Elphinstone, occurred in the fourth year of Bahader Sháh’s reign. Mahommedan intolerance had already converted the Sikhs from a community

* The word Ranghur means in convert to Mahommedanism, as has Saharanpore a Rájput of any sometimes been incorrectly asserted. denomination, and not a Rájput

of harmless devotees into a confederacy of blood-thirsty warriors, who found a congenial leader in the person of the fierce Bairagee Bunda, the savage successor of the terrible Siree Guroo Gobind Singh. Leading them across the rubicon of the Jumna at Rájghát, he marched straight upon the town of Saharanpore, a place particularly obnoxious to him as one of the principal strongholds of bigoted Mahomedanism. Jelál Khán of Jellalabad, *foujdár* of the circle, appears to have been quite helpless in the emergency. At all events, any resistance offered to the invaders must have been nominal, such was the feeble character of the Emperor's administration. The city was thoroughly well sacked with the ordinary accompaniments of arson and indiscriminate slaughter, so that years passed away before it recovered from the effects of the blow. Umbehtah, a locality equally hateful to the followers of Nanuk, being the seat of a religious establishment founded by the famous saint Sheikh Aboo'l-Máálee, was next visited, and the marauders reached Nanoutah on the 25th Jumád-ul-Awwul 1122 H. (July 1710 A.D.), a day celebrated in the local annals, for on it the unfortunate town earned the significant title of *Photá Shehr*, which has completely displaced its original name in the popular dialect. Here crowds of needy Goojurs, anxious to wipe out old scores with their oppressors, recruited the ranks of the invading horde. These converts—quaintly styled Nanuk-worshippers (*Nánuk-purust*)—proved valuable allies to the accursed "Singhs," who now encountered foes worthy of their steel. The Sheikhzádahs, veteran warriors, noted for their skill in archery, sold their lives dearly, fighting till three hundred of them lay dead in the courtyard of Sheikh Məhommed Afzul alone. So says the diary of Mahommed Zufr-u'-deen, a contemporary writer. This vain resistance only served to render the consequent reprisals all the more cruel. Bunda left Nanoutah a mass of smoking ruins. Many other places suffered almost as severely, and, it is said, none of the Behut Peerzádahs escaped except one, who was providentially absent in Bolundshuhr. These victims were solemnly executed after conviction on the capital charge of cow-murder, an offence easily proved against them; one which actually became the subject of prohibitory proclamations under our own Government, before we knew our strength.

The apostate translator of the *Sair-ul-Mutákhbureen* thus paraphrases the Seyud historian's account of the sufferings of his co-religionists.* "He" (Guroo Gobind) "was succeeded by Bunda, "that butcherlike man This infernal man having assembled multitudes of desperate fellows, all as enthusiasts, and all

* Translation of the "*Seir Mutaqhariu*," Calcutta, 1789, vol. i., p. 92.

"as thirsty of revenge as himself, commenced ravaging the country with such a barbarity as had never had an example in India. They spared no Mahomedan, whether man or woman or child. Pregnant women had their bellies ripped open, and their children dashed against their faces or against the walls." It is no wonder that "the mild Bahadur Shaw shuddered on hearing of such "atrocious deeds."

Bunda's career from Nanoutah onwards cannot be traced with any degree of certainty, nor is it known where he overtook and utterly defeated Jelál Khán, who lost his life, together with his two nephews.

It is a coincidence worth noting that, while Bunda, the representative of Gobind Singh's party, was ravaging Saharanpore, Guroo Rám Ráo, the head of the more moderate Oodásees, was spending his days peaceably in the neighbouring district of Dehra Doon, whither he had retired shortly before the close of Aurengzebe's reign.* "The famous Sikh Guroo, Rám Ráo, took up his abode in the Doon in the reign of Futeh Sáh. He was a lineal descendant of Nanuk, being Hur Govind's grandson. His father, Hur Ráo, a Guroo of mild ministry, having taken part with Dára Shekoh in the late civil war, had been compelled to give him up as a hostage to the Emperor. The accident was fortunate, for when left an orphan at the age of fifteen (1661 A.D.), he found himself with few partisans except Aurengzebe, into whose favour he had ingratiated himself. His legitimacy was doubtful, so his claims to succeed his father were pronounced inferior to those of his infant brother Hurkishen. Again, when the latter died, the fierce Tegh Baháder, Hur Govind's son, was elected ninth Guroo, to the exclusion of the milder Rám Ráo (1664 A.D.), who left his father's home at Keerutpore on the Sutlej, and betook himself first to Delhi, then to Agra, where some accuse him of having aided the machinations of his friend, the Emperor, against his rival. After Tegh Baháder's cruel execution (1675), he cherished fond hopes of succeeding to the Sikh apostleship, but the undeniable superiority of Govind Singh once more supplanted him. He, therefore, resigned himself to the less brilliant prospect of becoming the respectable head of a sect of dissenters, and retired to the Doon, bearing recommendations from his powerful protector Aurengzebe to the Rájá of Gurhwál (1756 S., 1699 A.D.) After sojourning at Kándlee on the far side of the Touse, where there is a jack-fruit tree said to have been planted by him, he removed thence to Koorburah (now included in the modern town of Dehra), and built his temple in the neighbouring village

* v. Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon, p. 9089.

“of Dhámoowálá, unless, as some allege, the edifice was constructed by his widow Punjab Kour. His presence soon attracted numerous devotees, and a flourishing town, called Gooroo-dwára, or Dehra, grew up around the saint's dwelling. It is not certain whether Dehra is an old name or, like Gooroo-dwára, one of modern origin, meaning the resting place of the saint. In the latter case, the ordinary spelling must be wrong, and the word ought to be written Derá.

“Rájá Futeh Sáh endowed the temple with three villages, Koorburah, Rajpore, and Chumásuree. His successor added to these four others, Dhámoowálá, Myánwála, Punditwáree, and Dhurtawálá. The income from them, which has varied greatly at different times, is now considerable.

“Many wonders are related of Guroo Rám Ráe. The Oodasee *faqeeers*, his principal disciples, are ready enough to tell stories of how he used to die of his own accord and come to life again, whenever they find a willing listener. He tried the experiment, however, once too often, for having told his obedient wife not to come near him for three days, he shut himself up in his cell, where he was found lying stark dead, when she opened the door. The bed on which he died stands within his cenotaph, and is an object of peculiar adoration with the devout.” But the Doon, too, was destined to have less pacific relations with her dangerous neighbours.

The tragic fate of Bunda, however, cowed his followers and gave the districts north of Delhi, continually torn in the mean time by political convulsions, complete immunity from the Sikh encroachments for fifty-two years. At the expiration of this period they immediately recommenced, not long after the battle of Paneeput. The duties of Nujeeb-u'-dowlah, *jágheerdár* of Saharaupore, also *Ameer-ul-Umra* of the Empire, compelled him to leave the management of his fief, which included nearly half of the present Meerut division, besides the *pergunnah* of Booreca west of the Jumna and a large portion of Bijnour (then Moradabad), to his *ámils*. In fact, his pre-occupations elsewhere rendered it almost impossible for him to guard the western frontier. The Sikh *sirdárs*, on the other hand, were daily gaining strength at the expense of the Government, which was at last threatening to collapse utterly, and they instituted a regular system of aggression which only ceased with the British supremacy. Not to speak of minor raids, four invasions on a grand scale took place between the battle of Paneeput and the Ameer-ul-Umra's death. In 1762 the defeat of the Afghan Governor of Lahore by the rebels recalled Ahmed Shah to India. Hastening to re-assert his authority in the Punjab, he overthrew them in a battle called the “Ghuloo Ghará,” an *onomatopœia* denoting the magnitude of the

disaster, in which the Sikhs lost at least 12,000 men ; some say 25,000. Nujeeb-u'-dowlah, meeting the conqueror after his victory, made plans for the future, which, though apparently satisfactory to both, failed signally. Hardly had the Dowránee departed than the chieftains recovered themselves, defeated and slew Zain Khán, the Pathán Governor of Sirhind, and again penetrated into the Doáb.

The second Sikh invasion, 1763 A.D.—The tide of victory bore forty thousand warriors across the Jumna, and at first there was no one to resist them. Early in March (17th Shában 1176 H.) they took Saharanpore, but their further progress seems to have been stopped by the approach of the Ameer-ul-Umra in person, whose absence on a campaign against the Játs had invited this attack, although there is a tradition current that they sacked the Seyud settlement of Meeranpore in the Mozuffernuggur district about the same time (1839-40 S.). Sooruj Mul then menaced Delhi from the south, and we next hear of the Sikhs as allies of the Ját chieftain's son, Juwábir Singh, who beleaguered Nujeeb-u'-dowlah in Delhi with their assistance, shortly after his father's death, until a rumour of Ahmed Sháh's return raised the siege (1764).

The third Sikh invasion. 1764 A.D.—Unfortunately, the Abdalee could do little beyond lending his minister the prestige of his name. At the end of November or the beginning of December (Jumád-u'-Sánee) a fierce horde swept over the Upper Doáb from its extreme north away to the Bárhá Sádát settlements along the Ganges, where the Chatrowree colony of Meeranpore was again sacked. The revolution ending in the death of Hussain Alee and Ab lullah Khán of Jánsuth had left the Seyuds a prey to the spoiler. This visitation is numbered among the most terrible that ever befell the Mahomedan settlers. To this day it is vividly remembered; and the patriarchs of Deobund, a large town in the Saharanpore district on the line of railway joining the North-Western Provinces to the Punjab, always find an eager audience, when they tell how they heard from their fathers of the coming of the terrible *Boodha Dul* ; of the rising of the fierce Ranghurs and Goojurs, who displayed on these occasions the same alacrity in searching for *loot* that so eminently distinguished them nearly a hundred years later in 1857. Tradition thus links the present with the past, and it is instructive to follow the connection. The name by which the invading host is popularly known raises a presumption that its leaders were Jussa Singh Kulal—the organiser of the *Dul* or “army of the theocracy of the Sikhs”* and his associate Toka Singh Barhee. The depredations of the latter

* r. Cunningham, p. 93.

extended to the most remote localities, even to the villages at the foot of the Sewalik hills. Many of the Rájputs in that direction were apostates from Hinduism and their contumacy probably invited his scrutiny.

According to Hafiz Rehmut Khán's biographer, this irruption occurred while Nujeeb-u'-dowlah was shut up in Delhi and was checked by the energy of the Hafiz himself, who promptly detached six thousand Rohilla horsemen from Daranugger (*zillah* Bijnour) to expel the intruders. This, as well as many more of his assertions, must be taken *cum grano*. The Sikhs would have scattered so small a force like chaff. Hafiz Rehmut, in all probability, contented himself with giving some nominal assistance to the Seyud colonies opposite Daranugger.

The fourth Sikh invasion, 1767 A.D.—A still more remarkable event was the fourth Sikh invasion, which occasioned Ahmed Sháh's last expedition to India in the year 1767. It was preceded by a rebellion in which Lahore fell into the hands of the insurgents, who laid waste the whole of the country between the Jhelum and the Sutlej, demolishing mosques and forcing the Mahomedan captives to anoint the ruins of their own temples with the blood of the accursed hog, a most humorous refinement of cruelty according to the ideas prevailing at the time. Such was their success that the confederate chiefs now began to dream of an enchanting future, the complete overthrow of the Empire and the foundation of a permanent Sikh Government. A parliament, *guroomutta*, was instituted and a mint established, while twelve confederacies, each under its own *sirdár*, were to constitute the rising nation.* They crossed the river in May and began by sacking Umbelhtah. The turn of Nanoutah came next (15th Zil Hij). The diary before me is very precise upon this point, "indeed, " this slave of God himself lost some property on the occasion ; it " was the very month of Shums-u'-deen's marriage, and Sheikh " Allah Yár Khán son of Mahomed Khán, attained the crown " of martyrdom by the hands of the infidels," who subsequently directed their attention to the Búrhá Sádát settlements in Mozuf-fernugger. They then stormed Meerut, which appears to have hitherto escaped. This fact betrays Nujeeb-u'-dowlah's weakness at the juncture. Conscious himself of his inability to cope with the crisis, he had, indeed, already invoked the aid of his firm friend, Ahmed Sháh, who made a supreme effort to re-establish his authority in the Punjab. The Ameer-ul-Umra's son, Zábiteh Khán, a man destined afterwards to play a conspicuous part in the annals of these districts, met the monarch at Sirhind, and, returning to Saharanpore with a timely reinforcement of Abdálee

* v. Sair-ul-Mutakhireen, vol. iii., p. 207 of Cunningham, p. 10389.

troops under the command of Sirdár Jehán Khán, surprised the enemy between Shámlee and Kairáuah, two important towns on the western side of the Mozuffernugger district, formerly included in the *féygleer* of the Emperor Jehánggeer's famous favourite Hukeem Mukurrib Khán. The first, still one of the most populous north of Meerut, was a notorious stronghold of Mahomedanism, and the second a comparatively rich emporium boasting an imperial mint. The fate of both could hardly have been doubtful, were it not for the opportune arrival of the young Nuwáb, who gained a decisive victory, hurling the Sikhs back across the Jumna. But the tide ebbed only to flow with greater violence in a few months.

The fifth Sikh invasion, 1767 A.D.—In the December after Ahmed Sháh's departure it returned, sparing very few towns and permanently establishing the claim of Nanoutah, which was beginning to rise from its ruins, to its ill-omened title (Rujub 1181 H.). The contemporary chronicler pathetically laments the destructions of his five dwelling houses, the burning of his beloved library, and the loss of all sorts of odds and ends; not one solitary pot or pan evaded the scrutiny of the accursed heathens, whose proceedings forcibly remind one of the 19th century Uhlan.

“ De demon of fengeance
His wings o'er 'em vave,
Mit deir fingers like hooks,
Und mit maws like de grafe.”*

Meanwhile brave old Nujëeb-u'-dowlah had reached Kandluh just beyond the north-western border of the Meerut district. Thence he proceeded by forced marches to the north of Mozuffernugger, compelling the Sikhs to fall back before him on Nanoutah. There they made a stand, but were beaten and driven northward to Islamnugger, a Pathán colony in the Nukoor tihseelee (zillah Saharanpore), where they again stood at bay, but at last retreated to Saharanpore and finally retired by Rájghát. This was the Ameer-ul-Umra's last triumph. Fortune proved untrue to him in his old age, and henceforth raids from the Punjab became so frequent that no count could be possibly kept of their number, although the principal incursions are distinctly remembered.

As regularly as the crops were cut, the border chieftains crossed over and levied black mail from almost every village, in the most systematic manner. Their requisitions were termed *rukhee*, sometimes euphemistically *kumblee*, i.e., “blanket-money.” Each of them had a certain well-known beat or circle, so well recognised and so clearly defined that it is not unusual for the peasantry at the present day to speak of some places being, for

* v. HANS Breitmann as an Uhlan, p. 61.

instance, in Jodh Singh's *puttee*, others in Dewán Singh's, or Himmut Singh's, and so on. The collections, of course, varied with the ability of the people to pay, averaging from two to five rupees a head. Two or three horsemen generally sufficed to collect them, for 2,000 or 3,000 more were never very far off. In case of delay about paying up, a handful of troopers, each well mounted and armed with a spear, sword, and good matchlock, speedily appeared to accelerate the liquidation of the debt. Refusal was fatal.

“ Dey moost shell the needful down
In less than twenty minutes
Or, py gott, I'll purn de town.”

Although times may change, mankind changes remarkably little with them. If I may be allowed some latitude of expression, the Sikh *Uhlán's* endurance and rapidity of movement were quite commensurate with his rapacity, enabling him to baffle, if not defy, superior numbers. With the exception of beef, he had, it is true, no objection to a generous diet of flesh, fish, or fowl, and he thoroughly enjoyed his liquor; but, at a pinch, he could march some twenty or thirty miles a day on no better fare than a little parched gram washed down with pure cold water. A tent he despised; baggage in the ordinary sense of the word he had none, looking to others to provide him with that as well as most other luxuries. Besides his weapons, his whole kit consisted of horse-gear, a few of the very simplest cooking utensils, and two blankets, one for himself, another for his faithful steed. These last important items of the Sikh warrior's equipment clearly point to the origin of the term *kumlee*, for the tax levied on each villager or townsman was, on an average, equal to about the price of a blanket. In spite of the simplicity of his habits, he took a pardonable pride in the adornment of his person and the proper maintenance of his accoutrements. Like the ancient Spartan, he never failed to carefully comb out and adjust his long hair and beard before the battle, and his white vest contrasting with his scarlet trappings made a fair show as he rode along gallantly to the fight. Although his tactics mainly resolved themselves into a prolonged series of skirmishes conducted somewhat after the Parthian fashion, yet in the strife of men contending hand to hand he was terrible, though helpless against good artillery. The *Dul*, fortunately, possessed very few guns and hardly understood the use of them. This deficiency saved the country from complete subjection, a contingency which seemed imminent a few years later. In the meantime it began to bristle all over with fortresses designed by private enterprise, since the Government was too poor to spend much money upon the protection of the people. Whenever some mission of vengeance led the marauders across the border,

the inhabitants fled thither with all their worldly goods and chattels. They rarely, however, stood a siege, generally coming to terms, because famine was always certain to force a surrender sooner or later, and the consequences of a vain resistance were often horrible. Truth compels me to declare that the Sikhs of the last century were, as a class, devoid of that spirit of generosity, which, according to our European notions, is inseparable from the character of a chivalrous warrior. Falsehood, bad faith, and blood-thirstiness were the salient characteristics of their temperament. A critic, whose official position might at first sight seem to give his opinion paramount weight, has questioned the justice of this statement, but it is made on the authority of no less a person than George Thomas* himself, who had good reason to know them well.

The remains of the asylums where the people used to seek a temporary refuge from their persecutors, may be seen everywhere, even in the most remote villages. They were generally plain enclosures of brick with four walls of no great height flanked by round towers. The larger towns had strongholds of more pretentious dimensions. At Deobund, for example, one of Nujeeb Khán's *ámils*, named Hussan Khán, completed the construction of a regular citadel, commenced by a former Governor, during the Ameer-ul-Umra's declining years, and his successor, Taza Beg Khán, surrounded the whole city with a moat and rampart. These works have disappeared. Elsewhere excellent specimens of similar structures may still be seen in almost perfect repair. At Luknaotee, a Turkman colony near the left bank of the Jumna, a few miles above Kurnaul, there is a fine fort built during the famine of 1783, that must have been impregnable except by means of a regular siege. Another well worth seeing is a large Goojur fort at Sadhowlee about ten miles due south of Saharanpore, the work of the redoubtable Huree, a noted character, as unscrupulous an adventurer as any of the *sirdárs*, only wanting more strength to be quite as mischievous, who ingeniously raised this useful monument to himself with bricks taken from the ruins of the once-flourishing town of Mulheepore, which he had sacked and razed to the ground. His relative, Rájá Rám Dyál Singh, head of the Landhouráh family, turned Juberherah near Roorkee, into a regularly fortified town, providing it with a deep moat and earthworks flanked by large brick towers, while Nujeeb-u'-dowlah is believed to have originated the design of an entrenched camp at Ghosegurh in the centre of the triangle formed by Jellalabad, Loharee, and Thannah Bháwun, on the high road from Delhi to Saharanpore. Among the worst of his foes, was Rác Singh Bunghee of Jugadree, who naturally disputed his right to Booreea,

* v. Memoirs of G. Thomas, by Franklin, p. 75.

and, although for a short time before his death the province enjoyed comparative repose, the difficulty of guarding the western frontier effected a remarkable change in his policy by nominally reconciling him with his enemies the Mahrattas. The history of the Sikh aggressions thus explains the motive of the negotiations which immediately preceded his decease in 1770 A.D.

The sixth Sikh invasion, 1773 A.D.—The sixth invasion was, probably, consequent upon Zabiteh Khán's second expulsion from his *jágheer*, because a tradition that he was then intriguing with the Sikhs agrees much better with subsequent occurrences than the supposition, sometimes accepted, that he was in hiding among the Játs. However this may be, they certainly overran the Upper Doáb as soon as the Nuwáb's fief had been confiscated, sacking, on their way, Nanoutah for the fourth time (26th Rám-zán 1187 H., December 1773), when the annalist of the misfortunes of that ill-starred place was unlucky enough to be robbed of fifteen maunds of grain, not to speak of many other unconsidered trifles.

The seventh Sikh invasion, 1775 A.D.—The seventh and most celebrated invasion happened soon after the Rohilla war, when the brave and generous Mirza Nujuf Khán resigned the *jágheer* of Saharanpore in favour of the outlawed Zabiteh Khán, who returned to his home with a long train of disheartened exiles from Rohilcund. On the 20th Sufur 1189 H. (April 1775 A.D.) all the sirdárs from Lahore to the Jumna crossed the river, it is said, with a host of 150,000 men; 50,000 horse, and 100,000 foot. The Nuwáb, unable to oppose one-third of the number to this overwhelming force, retreated from Gurbee Duhteruh in the north-west of Mozuffernugger to Ghosegurh, leaving the whole country at the mercy of the invaders. The Turkmans of Luknaotee were the first to suffer, whence it may be inferred that the Sikhs forded the Jumna by the Begee Ghât, nearly opposite Kurnaul. Gungoh was compelled to meet a requisition of Rs. 6,000, in addition to the proceeds of desultory pillage. Umtehtah had a narrow escape. While the sirdárs were encamped at Gungoh, they sent a troop of cavalry there to demand Rs. 5,000 blackmail, but the grim tax collectors failed to extract more than Rs. 2,000 from the terrified inhabitants, with which, strange to say, they departed content. From Gungoh the *Dul* marched to Nanoutah, which they ransacked a fifth time, again burning the greater part of it to the ground. As usual, the faithful chronicler bemoans the loss of his pots and pans, for

“Inshpired by Gott's fury,
Dey shdole all the plate.”

In the following month (*Rubee-ul-Awwul*) Deobund was

invested. Taza Beg Khan, the Pathán officer abovementioned, is said to have bravely defended his charge, meeting the enemy in the field and holding the fort gallantly when eventually driven into it. The besiegers, deficient in artillery, had recourse to mining and by that means penetrated inside the walls. Irritated at his obstinate resistance, they vented their spleen upon the commandant with savage cruelty. His limbs were swathed in cotton well steeped in oil, and, fire being applied to the covering, he was carefully roasted to death. Four hundred Patháns of the rank and file were slaughtered in cold blood. The inhabitants themselves are still noted for their peculiar stubbornness of disposition, and it is quite credible that, as is alleged, driven to desperation, they again rose *en masse* and prolonged the street fighting for fourteen days. A railway station now marks the scene of the principal encounter. Some say, the hero of this expedition was Ráe Singh, who never afterwards experienced much difficulty about levying the Rs. 600 at which he assessed the citizens, whose descendants put into his mouth *formulae* strikingly like Hans Breitmann's. Others represent Tara Gheba of the Dullehwâlâ confederacy, one of George Thomas's opponents, to have been the leading spirit on the occasion. The Usmanee Sheikhs, on the other hand, may be right in preferring the claims of Bughel Singh to those of any one else (though all three may well have been present), for they are credited with superior knowledge on the score of personal experience, as they always fared badly in these episodes, being very rigid Mahommedans and living in an exposed position to the westward. There is a tradition in the family that one of them named Kalunder Buksh, a pretty boy eight or nine years old, was carried away by one of the Booreea sirdárs (Q. Ráe Singh?), who adopted and made a Sikh of him, to the unspeakable chagrin and horror of his pious relatives. Providentially, the child's maternal grandfather happened to be the spiritual guide of the Nuwáb of Kunjpoora, who invested a large sum of money in procuring his ransom. On his restoration to the bosom of his family, he was promptly married to one of his cousins. This step, they considered, was the best calculated to ensure his return to orthodoxy. Accidents of the kind were common enough in those days.

After exacting a requisition of Rs. 12,000 from the capital town, the *sirdárs* invested Ghosegurb, where they compromised their claims against the Nuwáb for Rs. 50,000, money down. This transaction may have formed the basis of an unstable alliance which will be noticed in due course. Bidding farewell to Ghosegurb, the invaders scoured the Bárhá Sádât country; pillaging, among other places, Meeranpoor and Kythorah where Seyuds Shuhamut Khán and Futteh Ullah Khán are believed to have made a feeble stand, they swept

through Shámlee, Kairanah, Kandlah, Meerut, and re-crossing the river, through Paneeput and Sonput, away southwards as far as Delhi. Being there unable to do much permanent harm without a powerful artillery, they retreated; not, however, until they had thoroughly searched the suburbs beyond the fortifications (25th Jumad-ul-Awwul, July).

The equivalent of the losses inflicted upon the three districts north of the metropolis during this visitation is expressed in the comprehensive generality of *lakhs of rupees*. We need not wonder why in the good old days people had such a strong objection to paying up the Government revenue.

Booreea was now irrevocably severed from Saharanpore, and Zabiteh Khán's jurisdiction dwindled down to the average size of a modern collectorate. Abandoned by a court to which he had never owed much at any time and completely at the mercy of the Sikhs, he finally determined upon carrying out a bold project which, I have observed, there is reason to believe he had long cherished at heart, and, forming an alliance with his truculent neighbours, re-asserted his independence of the Emperor, Sháh Alum, a master for whom real regard and respect were both equally impossible.

The eighth invasion, 1776 A.D.—Alarming news soon fluttered the hangers on "loafing about the throne." They trembled to learn that a combined Sikho-Rohilla army, numbering from 30,000 to 40,000 men, was marching upon Delhi with alarming rapidity, supporting itself by the time-honoured expedient of requisitions from the crown lands situated between Mozuffernugger and Meerut. Not the least distinguished of the confederates was Ráe Singh, about whom we shall hear more afterwards. No more favourable juncture could have been chosen for the enterprise in hand, since the Commander-in-Chief, Mirza Mafuz Khan, one of the very few honest or capable men in Shah Alum's employment, was engaged in blockading Deeg. In his absence the Dewán or financial minister, Abdul Wahid Khán (Mujud-u'-dowlah), a man supplied with an ample fund of low cunning but as devoid of real ability as of courage, was obliged to take the field with his brother (?) Abdul Kásim Khán, also called Kásim Allee Khán, who had been appointed *Foujdár* of the Saharanpore circle with a special commission to quell the rebellion. The allies retreated before him from Boorháná to Bhugrah about six miles west of Mozuffernugger, and thence to Ameernugger a couple of miles farther north. There the apparent fugitives suddenly turned upon their elated pursuers. The event can never have been doubtful. Kásim Allee Khán lost his life, and the Dewán hastened back to Delhi with his disordered forces (2nd Mohurram 1190 H., March 1776 A.D.).

Delhi itself might have fallen into the hands of the victors,

had not the opportune fall of Deeg left Mirzá Nujuf Khán free to act. Meerut, Sekundra, Hapur, and Khoorja were all taken one after another. The adventurers extended their depredations even to Coel, Khasgunj, and Atrawlee in the Allygurh district, while Zabiteh Khan was so charmed with his new friends that, if report be true, he renounced Mahommed in favour of Nanuk, changing his name to Dhurm Singh. Ever since this memorable period, the proverb *ek guroo ke do chele, ādhā Sikh, ādhā, Rohelch* has been current in the Saharanpore district.

The Emperor hastily re-called Mirzá Nujuf Khán and took the field in person, but, before hazarding the issue of a struggle, tried negotiation. It is no part of my design to enter into a discussion about the politics of the period. I may at the same time observe, the fact proves that the Nuwáb, ordinarily represented in the light of a contumacious rebel, had substantial grievances to complain of, even in the estimation of his weak and faithless master. It is hardly necessary to add, negotiation proved useless and the inevitable appeal to arms was no longer delayed. The army of the confederates cannot have been much inferior in point of numbers to the imperial forces. The latter, on the other hand, possessed the advantage of superior discipline and guidance, the Mirzá having taken the place of the despicable Dewán. A staff of eminent commanders also assisted him, and of his officers not the least useful was the infamous Walter Reinhardt, who had joined the imperialists with some regiments armed and drilled in imitation of the European fashion. A bloody battle was fought between Ameernugger and Ghosegurh. Neither side gained any decisive advantage, although Zabiteh Khan deemed it prudent to take up a new position in his entrenched camp at Ghosegurb, where the enemy watched him for at least a month, during which incessant skirmishing went on. The Mirzá refused to risk a general action, keeping his antagonists at bay, and intercepting their supplies, until at length famine began to do its work and Zabiteh Khan made overtures of peace. But again negotiation failed. Bracing himself up for a supreme effort, he therefore re-commenced hostilities, which terminated favourably to the imperialists, after an action the desperate nature of which has been compared by the author of the *Sair-ul-Mutakhureen* to that of Paneeput. This comparison, by the way, has led the more modern historian of the Moghul Empire, Mr. Keene, into the curious error of supposing that the battle was actually fought upon the field of Paneeput.*

* v. The Moghul Empire, p. 117, "the two armies engaged on the famous field of Paneeput, and the action" which ensued is described as having been only less terrible than the last that was fought, on the same

historic ground, between the Mahrattas and the Mussulmans, in 1761." The words of the writer's authority are, "this battle" became similar to that of Paneeput.

In other respects, too, the account he gives of the events under consideration differs materially from the present, but I cannot wander from my immediate subject to review the general history of a most intricate period. Zabiteh Khan eventually retreated with his allies into the Punjab, early in 1777 A.D. (1191 H.), where he remained six months, until the good offices of the amiable Nujuf Khán once more procured his restoration. This service, however, profited him little, because his quondam allies considered that, in his eagerness to recover his lost position, he had not paid a proper regard to their interests. They consequently made his real or imaginary ingratitude an excuse for renewing their aggressions with a vigour that before long left him little more than the nominal possession of his *jágheer*.

In the meantime, Abdul Abid Khan, anxious to distinguish himself and fondly imagining he could now conduct an expedition against the *sirdars* with a certain amount of safety, took the field with prince Jewán Bukht, recovered Kurnaul without bloodshed, Bughel Singh Krora Singheea and Dehso Singh of Kaithul tendering their submission. The royal army thence continued its triumphal march to Puteeala, whose chief, Amr Singh, parleyed until reinforcements reached him from Lahore. He then turned on the Dewán, who fled with his usual celerity to Paneput. Indeed, so great was his expedition that he left the greater part of his troops far behind him. He thereby stayed the pursuit, for the Sikhs, setting little value on the person of the fugitive, devoted themselves to plundering, and, stripping every imperial soldier they could catch stark-naked, sent him empty away.

The ninth Sikh invasion, 1778-9 A.D.—Presently, they re-entered the Doáb, scouring the whole country between the rivers. Many of the more powerful *zemindars*, moreover, took advantage of the general confusion, and played the jackal to the Sikh lion. The confiscation of Mujud-u'-dowlah's property, by way of punishment for his misconduct, was a poor consolation to the wretched people (1192 H.).

The tenth Sikh invasion, 1781 A.D.—Similar disturbances went on with little intermission till the year 1781 A.D., when the tenth irruption of which any particulars have been handed down to posterity, occurred. A horde chiefly consisting of Phulkeea Sikhs, marched unopposed right down to Meerut, where Mirzá Mahommed Shuffee, one of Nujuf Khán's favourite commanders, at length withstood them with twelve thousand men, on the 15th August 1781 A.D. The Moghul general's artillery enabled him to rout them utterly. Gujput Singh of Jheend was taken prisoner and Sahib Singh, another leading *sirdár*, lost his life slain. Altogether, the enemy's losses are supposed to have amounted

to upwards of 5,000 men. Shuffee Beg pursued the survivors over the Jumna. He does not appear, however, to have effected much towards the settlement of the Punjab, whence intelligence of the death of Mirzâ Nujuf Khân re-called him in April 1782 A.D.

G. R. C. WILLIAMS, B.A., B.C.S.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

IN the year 1873 the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society assembled to keep their first jubilee, half a century having elapsed since the date of their foundation, and five only of the original members having survived to that date. Occasion was taken to record in the report of the year the work done by the Society in the previous fifty years, and, as it were, to take stock of the literary capital and enterprise of the Society and to make a fresh start.

Let us consider for a moment what a vast change has come over the Oriental world since 1823, the year in which Henry Colebrooke read his primary discourse. It is literally true that the area of British India has doubled, and the rate of increase of the population has probably been greater. The great Company has fallen. Persia and Turkey have entered into the comity of civilised nations; while China and Japan, which were at that period merely geographical expressions, have commenced a career of progress. The Overland passage and the Telegraph have destroyed distance, and the news from the East is every morning as fresh as the news from Wales used to be fifty years ago. In one respect only there is no change: the subject of India is put aside in the political world as a bore now, because so much is known about it; fifty years ago it was scouted, because it appeared in a garb, and with surroundings, that were incomprehensible.

In the world of Literature, how vast has been the progress! How strange it appears now to read remarks from the pen of Dr. Wilson, that it was still an undecided question whether the Zend and Pehlavi ever actually existed as languages, or were mere inventions of the Parsis: at the present time the genuineness of Hebrew and Samaritan might as easily be questioned. In those quiet days no Settlement Officers had ransacked every corner of Northern India for the least vestige of a custom, or a tenure; and no Education Department had undertaken the herculean task of instructing the youth of the conquered according to the notions of the conquerors. Within that period the science of language has by the energy and learning of her votaries secured a place by the side of her elder sisters; and the young giants, Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology, have ripped open many a favourite theory, and dashed down with the merciless club of fact the idol of many a time-honoured fallacy. The knowledge of the ancient world has been indefinitely expanded since that time. Bopp had not then spun his fine cobweb of

unassailable reasoning over the great play-ground of the Indo-European Family; Pott had not delved in the inexhaustible mine of the Teutonic Word-Lore; nor had Grimm, like his great countryman Kepler, elaborated a new law which future generations must obey.

The founder of the Society was a man, whose name can never be mentioned by any student of Oriental languages without the profoundest respect. He was the second of the three great English Oriental scholars, the undoubted pre-eminence of whom is admitted on the Continent as in England. Sir William Jones handed the lamp to Henry Colebrooke, and he in his time found a worthy successor in his friend Horace Hayman Wilson. This dynasty lasted seventy years; and the vacant chair of pre-eminence has never been, and is not likely ever to be, filled again. As the field of labour widened, a distribution was made among the scholars of this and other countries; and though the amount of knowledge possessed by the present generation far exceeds that of the preceding, both in extent and profoundness, and also in accuracy, still in no one scholar is such a variety of gifts concentrated: to no one is conceded such undoubted homage. And it is characteristic of the institutions of England that to not one of these three great Lights did the Sovereign or the State, prodigal in honours and pension to second-rate lawyers and third-rate divines, make the slightest acknowledgment.

Without wishing to detract from the great merits of these early giants, it must be remembered that they had the advantage of being first in the field, but they had the ability and industry to make good use of their opportunities. They gathered in the first fruits of the great harvest, which had been ripening for two thousand years; they had the skimming of the great cream-pot. And it must be remembered that, as in all new mines, the ore lay very much on the surface. And though they were servants of the State, the duties of public servants were not so relentlessly exacted as now; they merely gave to the study of Oriental Literature the ample leisure which their contemporaries dedicated to the card table or the bottle,—leisure which the hard-worked official of modern days looks for in vain.

The new Society was organised in 1823 under a Royal Charter, His Majesty George IV. being Patron, members of the Royal Family being Vice Patrons, the President of the Board of Control was the first President, being ex-officio a Vice Patron, and Mr. Colebrooke the founder, was the first Director, a post which he occupied till his death, when he was succeeded by Dr. Wilson; and when his chair was vacated by death, it was occupied by Sir H. Rawlinson, who is the actual incumbent. At their first meeting in March 1823 Mr. Colebrooke read an

opening "discourse," which was reprinted for circulation in 1842, as up to that date expressing the objects and aspirations of the Society.

Admitting that Asia was the parent of civilisation, he lays down the principle—one so often forgotten—that Europe, and especially England, have a debt to repay, and this can best be done by promoting an interchange of benefits, which again must be preceded by more accurate information "*of all that is there known, which belongs to Science, and all that is there practised, which appertains to Art.*" Be it then our part "to investigate the Science of Asia, and to inquire into the arts of the East, with the hope of facilitating the ameliorations of which they may be found susceptible."

We see what a wide field of inquiry was thrown open, how large a subject was grasped. All that is now the aim of international exhibitions—a large portion of that which is included in the moral and material progress of British India—was contemplated by the small gathering of men interested in India, who were assembled fifty years ago in the Society's rooms in Grafton Street. The nominal rulers of the great dependency were occupied in their investment for the China and home market: a knot of its retired servants were assembled to study the alphabet of governing Asia upon European principles.

As the veteran Civil Servant warmed to the subject, he seemed to transport himself back to his seat in the Council room in Calcutta, with hundreds of subordinates scattered over the vast country, to whom "to hear was to obey." We think we hear him reading the measured sentences of his discourse, for, as with all old Indians, long practice had made him write well, and the stately sesquipedalia flowed from his pen, detailing a field of research "as wide as the regions and as various as the people who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their history, ancient and modern, their civil polity, their long-enduring institutions, their manners and their customs, their languages and their literature, their sciences, speculative and practical, the progress of knowledge among them, the pitch to which it has attained, and last, but most important, the means of its extension.

"It is the history of the human mind, which is most diligently to be investigated, the discoveries of the wise, the inventions of the ingenious, and the contrivances of the skilful.

"Nothing of what has most engaged the thoughts of men, is foreign to an inquiry within the local limits which we have prescribed to it. We do not exclude from our research the political transactions of Asiatic States, nor the lucubrations of Asiatic Philosophers. The first are necessarily connected in a small degree with the history of the progress of society, the

“latter have an influence on the literary, the speculative, and the “practical avocations of men.”

Nor was the grasp of geographical area less than the grasp of subject-matter. The India of 1823 was a much smaller affair than the magnificent Empire of British India and its dependent States of 1873, traversed by railways and steamers, irritated by the periodical census, thinned by the recurring famine, worried by the vacillating system of taxation, and overgoverned by voluminous legislation. In 1823 India represented a magnificent myth, a four months' voyage distant from England—a bourne from which many never returned at all, and those that did return came back at such long intervals, and were so changed, that they seemed to belong to a distinct world. Beneath the soil of that India were the treasures of unknown languages, such as Pali, the Dravidian family, the trans-Gangetic family, and a host of dialects. Beyond India lay China, represented pretty entirely by opium and tea. On this side of India lay Persia and Arabia, and the language of the latter was to be followed along the North Coast of Africa into Spain. Of the north of Asia—the great dominion of Russia—little was said, because little was known; and strange to say, the great Turanian family of languages, as represented by the familiar Turkish, is totally omitted. But even as far back as 1823 something was known of the infant colonies of England in the Southern Seas, and the Royal Asiatic Society undertook rather pompously to contribute its aid to the obtaining of better knowledge of “Austral-Asia.”

Even restricting the field to British India (and, until the great Mesopotamian discoveries, this practically was the restricted field), we must bear in mind how extremely superficial our system of Government of India was in those days; how absolutely non-existent the great works of the Statistical, the Archæological, and the Educational Departments were; how rude and empirical were our systems of Revenue and Judicature; how little Public Works were thought of; or International Exhibitions, Model Farming, and Cotton Commissioners dreamt of; how alien to the spirit of the time would have been the idea of sending or raising Commissions to purchase or copy Oriental Manuscripts, or wasting money on the repairs and preservation of architectural remains of a former dynasty. Gradually—very gradually—the Government of British India has risen to the level of the exalted views of the duty of a State of the nineteenth century, and has now so wonderfully organised an administration that it is able with a wave of the hand to get in any amount of statistics with regard to the peoples, nations, and languages that make up the empire, and declare with tolerable accuracy what proportion of the population make a practice of killing their daughters, how many millions bury, and

how many millions burn their dead, and how many prefer, as a religious duty, to expose the bodies of their deceased relations to become the prey of wild birds.

But it has required all the energy of a great Government to get the empire thus in hand, and a numerous, highly-paid, and well-trained army of officials. But in 1823 it was proposed to do all this by the agency of public officials, who had done their day's work, and returned home with more or less impaired constitutions. The venerable founder, in his discourse, thus describes how the work was to be done.

"Remote as are the regions to which our attention is turned, no country enjoys greater advantages than Great Britain for conducting inquiries respecting them. Both within its territorial limits and beyond them, the public functionaries have occasion for acquiring varied information and correct knowledge of the people and of the country. Political transactions, operations of war, relations of commerce, the pursuits of business, the enterprise of curiosity, the desire of scientific acquirements, carry British subjects to the most distant and secluded spots. Their duties and professions lead them abroad, and they avail themselves of opportunities thus afforded for the acquisition of an accurate acquaintance with matters presented to their notice. One requisite is there wanted, as long since remarked by the venerable founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it is *leisure*, but that is enjoyed on their return to their native country. Here may be arranged the treasured knowledge which they bring with them written, or the remembered information which they have gathered. Here are preserved, in public and private depositories, manuscript books collected in the East, exempt from the prompt decay which would have there overtaken them. Here too are preserved, in the archives of families, the manuscript observation of individuals, whose diffidence has prevented them from giving to the public the fruits of their labour in a detached form."

"Leisure and knowledge." We pause over these two words. It was Lord Metcalfe who wrote at the close of a long active life—"I am now convinced that want of leisure is a constitutional disease, which will stick by me to the grave, and that it does not proceed from excess of business only." It is at once the privilege, and the charm, and the cross of a well-trained and active mind, *that it never has leisure*. People who have nothing to occupy themselves with, generally spread that nothing over the whole day; but the active mind, while it finds time for everything, has the so-called "leisure" for nothing. There are some, who on their return from India crave for their Cutchery-Box, and the daily routine of indolent activity, or busy idleness, of an office;

but how many bring home memoranda of books to be read *when there is leisure*, thoughts to be arranged when there is opportunity, subjects to be looked up when there is a moment to spare!

Then, as to "knowledge," how many men fifty years ago brought back "treasured knowledge" of the kind described in their long sea cases? In how many overland trunks of modern times would anything be found worth publishing? Be it remembered that as a companion of the leisure, and a penalty of the knowledge, often comes impaired health, and failing eyesight, and a feeling that the day's work is done, that the pen does not run so glibly as before, that the well-stored memory somehow or other does not respond so readily to the touch, that the man is not what he was "*Consule Planco*."

Even in the heroic age when this Society was founded, there were but a handful of men who were prepared and able to assist in the proposed work; behind them, and supporting them, was the usual amount of padding, the social "umbræ," whose tongues were wisely kept silent, and their pens judiciously dry, or who at least discreetly allowed their lucubrations to remain in manuscript; and to those who were willing, and able, how few and short were the hours of work allowed! Year by year the obituary column recorded the death of one of the leading members, and within a very few years we find the venerable founder requested to allow his honoured name to remain attached to a post the duties of which his rapidly increasing infirmities had prevented him from discharging.

But the Society for many years did not shrink at least in words from the programme of their founder. In their report of 1834 we find that "the Council took the occasion to point out "the peculiar relations in which the Society stood to the "British empire, particularly to its Oriental possessions, and to "express its hope that the Society might become an effectual "instrument in bringing into activity the intellectual energies of the inhabitants of our Eastern dominions, in directing them, when so awakened, to proper works of utility, and in "making known the results of these exertions to the European "world. In this view the Council considered the Society "a national institution, justly entitled to national support from "the means which it possesses for diffusing among the nations of "the East whatever of European invention may seem calculated "to improve them in Arts and Sciences, or in any way to elevate "them in the scale of nations; while on the other hand, it operates as a medium, through which a knowledge of all which they "themselves possess may be laid before the public."

"These anticipations have been realised."

Again, in the report of 1837—

“We cannot slacken our endeavours to promote the usefulness of the Society, as regards the welfare of our fellow subjects in Asia, or as regards the people of this country in being the medium of communicating to them the knowledge of the former—their Arts, Sciences, Manufacture and Commerce of the most valuable natural productions and vast resources of our widely expanded Empire in the East.”

And once more, after a lapse of twenty years, we recognize the familiar ring—perhaps the farewell echo of the great Directors—at least we have heard no such sentiments expressed since Dr. Wilson died.

“Our Society should concentrate information of whatever is produced or illustrated in respect of Asia by the learning and industry of our countrymen, or residents in a foreign land; in a word, that the inquirers for information respecting India might be referred to this Society as the depository where investigations may be assisted and study prosecuted with the greatest prospect of success.”

In fact, the aspirations of the Society's Report, 1854, trenched on the field then open, but now occupied, and ably occupied, by the Government of India. The Society, presided over by the President of the Board of Control, and attended by members of the Court of Directors, was in fact the representative of the Government of the period in the Department of Arts and Sciences. Nothing can shew this more clearly than the report read by Sir Alexander Johnstone, Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence in 1834 and 1837, going over the widest field of inquiry, geographical, administrative, and scientific. Twice a Committee of Agriculture and Commerce was established: on the first occasion it came to an end by the Government of India inviting the leading member of the Committee, Dr. Royle, to transfer his services to the State, and to finish more thoroughly as a salaried official what he commenced as an amateur. The second time, in spite of the able and zealous exertions of Mr. Marshman, the Committee came to an end, not from the want of interest felt in the subject, but from a feeling that the subject could be handled by the State only. This was, perhaps, the last attempt of the society to be useful beyond the strict boundary of literature and archæology. For, indeed, the question must arise;—Did those who penned the extracts which we have quoted above really believe them? Did they deceive themselves, that the Society was effecting any great work for Asia or India, or likely to do so? In the face of the gigantic administrative machinery of modern times, the annual moral and material progress report submitted to Parliament, it became clear that the front of the

battle was changed, that in the midst of the army of report writers, statistic collectors, and commissioners of inquiry, the little contingent of the Royal Asiatic Society was nowhere; and that the Society itself was become like one of the little harbours of our coast, once accessible to the smaller craft of antient days, but now from the shifting of the current, and silting up of sand, far inland.

We have seen that the Asiatic Society was founded in 1823. After the lapse of twenty-five years it was firmly established as an Institution; but in 1848 all the great men, with a few exceptions, who were necessarily advanced in life, at the time of the foundation, had passed away. Indeed, a perusal of the report of the annual meetings has something sad in it, for each year some well-remembered figure was absent, some well-known voice was silent, and those who uttered a well deserved panegyric on their departed friends were themselves the subject of a similar pious eulogy at the meeting of the following year. Two patrons of the Society, George IV. and William IV., a succession of official vice-patrons, the President of the Board of Control, and Chairman of the Court of Directors, and a long row of presidents and vice-presidents, Members of Council and office holders, had disappeared from the roll. Among them were Charles William Wynn, the Earl of Munster, Lord Fitzgerald, the Earl of Auckland, the Earl of Ellesmere, the Marquess of Wellesley, Lord Metcalfe, Sir W. Macnaghten, Sir Alexander Burnes, Henry Colebrooke, Sir Gore Ouseley, and many others less known to the general public but filling a large place in the affairs of the Society.

Although the Society seemed to be still flourishing, when after the lapse of another quarter of a century we look back upon the men, who even then were spared to assemble at the meetings and contribute to the pages of the journal,—men such as Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir George Staunton, Mr. Elphinstone, Dr. Mill, Mr. Shakespeare, Mr. Bland, Mr. Morley, Colonel Sykes, Dr. Lee, Sir Graves Haughton, Lord Strangford, Dr. Falconer, Mr. Marsdon, and others,—still it was evident, that in reality the officers of the Society were languishing, that the field of inquiry was contracting, that the interest in Oriental subjects, which had launched and buoyed up the vessel thus far, was exhausted. The reasons were obvious, and they have double force now a quarter of a century later, and we propose further on to discuss them at large. In the year 1848 the Society had migrated from their original quarters in Grafton Street, and were newly established in the house in New Burlington Street, which will recur to many of our readers. These excellent quarters contained a choice museum and a well selected library; and the staff of the Society consisted of Dr. H. H. Wilson, the Director and moving spirit, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Edwin

Norris were Secretaries, Mr. Alexander, Treasurer, and Sir Graves Haughton, Librarian, when a succession of events happened, which gave to the Society a new lease of life, and an amount of lustre in English and European circles, surpassing all previous and, we fear, all future experiences.

In the year 1845, Mr. Edwin Norris, the Assistant Secretary, had successfully interpreted the Inscriptions of Kapurdi Giri near Pesháwar, brought home by Mr. Masson; and soon after Colonel H. Rawlinson, who in 1844 had been appointed by the Government of Lord Ellenborough to Turkish Arabia, had made copies of the cuneiform Inscription of Persepolis in the province of Fars and had solved the great problem, and had given new life to the decrees of Darius Hystaspes after a slumber of more than 2,000 years. The Asiatic Society lent its countenance and influence, and opened its purse liberally in the support of this great discovery; and in Mr. Edwin Norris was found the man, who by patience and ingenuity helped to work out the problem, translated the Median or Scythian portion of the great Behistun Inscription, and with singular and unselfish devotion to science threw himself, as a humble co-operator, into a work which covered his fellow-labourer with glory. The journals of the Royal Asiatic Society suddenly acquired a new interest, which was increased one hundred-fold, when Nineveh and Babylon disclosed their long buried treasures, the literature, language, and history of a period not less removed from the present ~~era~~ than 2,500 years. It was then that the Asiatic Society became the centre of a great literary movement, that their publications were subsidised by a national grant, that the greatest and most eminent men of the time, headed by the Prince Consort, attended at the meetings, and tourists abroad found that a copy of the journal, unfolding the wonderful cuneiform discoveries, was the most acceptable present in the scientific world at a foreign capital. In heading this movement, the Royal Asiatic Society acted as if by inspiration, as there was for a long time a great wave of incredulity to resist, and Sir Henry Rawlinson has always gratefully acknowledged the debt of gratitude which he owed to his earliest supporters, and styled himself their "*alumnus*." Practically the *raison d'être* of the Society has been as follows:

I. To form a centre for the social union of persons interested in Oriental Literature and Archæology, or in India and the East in its widest acceptance.

II. To increase mutual knowledge of England and India.

III. To concentrate information for the use of inquirers, whether English or Foreigners.

IV. To supply a graceful mode of recognising the distinction of foreign scholars by admitting them as honorary members.

V. To publish a periodical journal as a vehicle of the above detailed information.

VI. To publish an annual report of the proceedings so as to keep alive, and, if possible, increase interest.

VII. To annex to this report obituary notices of the distinguished members who have died within the year.

VIII. To annex a *resumé* of all works published on Oriental subjects either in the British Dominions or foreign countries within the year, and thus take stock of the progress of knowledge.

IX. To collect and maintain a library available for reference, or for loan to members, or on the responsibility of members.

X. To preserve manuscripts and lend them to scholars under certain conditions.

XI. To draw up memorials to the Government or the universities on subjects connected with the promotion of Oriental Literature.

XII. To form a connection with Branch Societies in different parts of the world.

It must not be forgotten that the Royal Asiatic Society was established at a date subsequent to the Asiatic Society of Batavia and Paris, which date back to 1779 and 1822 respectively, and that it has always entertained feelings of filial respect to the parent Society in Calcutta, founded by Sir W. Jones in 1784. On the other hand, round it are gathered Branch Societies at Bombay, Ceylon, Madras, North and South China, its motto being *Quot rami tot arbores*, with the emblem of the *Ficus Indica*. Of a subsequent date, and probably in imitation of the great examples at Calcutta, Paris and London, Oriental Societies have been established at every capital in Europe, save Spain, publishing periodicals, and vying with each other in industry and zeal. It must be added that with the exception of London and Calcutta, the effective members of such Societies are chiefly members of the professorial body of the universities, and but slightly supported by the members of the ordinary community.

We now come to consider what the Society has done; and the report of 1878 undertakes to supply us with information for the purpose. It must not be forgotten that something has been done indirectly, which did not admit of being set out formally in a report, but which must not be lost sight of. The existence of this Society has filled up an admitted vacuum: it was alone in the field once, and by keeping alive interest by action on the Government and on public opinion has very much contributed to the establishment of other Societies which by drawing off members have thinned its ranks. Besides the great case of the Mesopotamian Discoveries, the Society has by encouragement and liberality fostered other researches which might otherwise have drooped;

and we cannot fully estimate the influence which individual members of the Society brought to bear in their capacity as members of the governing bodies of India. At any rate, we have the fact that the great aspirations of the Society have been adopted and fully worked out by the Government. It is reasonable to argue that the manifesto of the Society, and the proceedings and discussions which distinguished its early years, have led surely, but imperceptibly, to the improved administration of India, especially when it is recollected that for thirty years the Director of that Society was one of the few unchangeable figures in the ever-changing kaleidoscope of the old India House, where those who went to India as boys, and returned as middle-aged men, ever found the kind but solemn face of the most universally accomplished man, the admirable Crichton, of the Service of the Company.

We come next to the tangible records of the work of the Society—the three volumes of the transactions, and the twenty volumes of the old series of the journal, and the six volumes of the new. Of many of the papers that were read, and of the numerous lectures which were delivered, with a few exceptions, there is no record; but the printed volumes of the journal will speak for themselves, and, following the order of the jubilee report, we shall have occasion to notice them. The Branch Societies have all published journals. But in addition to its own labours the Society has given birth to two other kindred institutions supported and maintained by members of its own body, though enjoying a separate organisation and income. We allude to the Oriental Translation Fund and Oriental Text Society. The volumes of the former amount to nearly eighty in number, and contain the work of some of the most distinguished English and Foreign scholars; and the result is that the contents of books which were emphatically sealed to the general reading public have been made accessible in the English, French, or Latin languages, and the works of some of the most celebrated Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Syrian authors placed on a level with the European Classics. The Oriental Text Society and its successor, the Sanskrit Text Society, have had a more restricted object, but one not less important; to supply the scholar with texts existing only in manuscript, thus by correct readings and good typography removing one-half of the horror that surrounds the first attempt to be an Oriental scholar.

In estimating the result of the half century, it must be remembered that the Society has gone through more than one financial crisis, and from its earliest date until now there has been one continuous moan over the scantiness of support to a subject not of general interest. The increase and decrease of members has been year by year jealously watched and commented upon.

Instances of liberality and devotion on the part of the members have not been unknown, large donations have been made, and many of the members, who had compounded by payment, allowed themselves to be put on the paying list a second time. No lack of energy has been displayed by the managing council; quarters have been shifted from Grafton Street to New Burlington Street, and thence to their present house in Albemarle Street, the accommodation being contracted, or expanded, according to the state of the resources. Strenuous attempts have been made to secure free quarters from the State in Somerset House, or Burlington House, and in the new India Office. The Society surrendered their Museum to the great Museum of the India Office, and offered, but without success, to amalgamate their Library with that of the India Office, and establish themselves as Custodians of the great dépôt of Oriental learning in the metropolis, reserving that power of lending manuscripts to scholars, which is the great distinction between the practice of both the above-mentioned Libraries, and that of the British Museum and the two Universities, who are restricted by Act of Parliament from allowing a sheet of paper to leave their premises; and how great a boon it is for a scholar to be allowed to take his manuscript to his house, instead of studying it in a crowded room at fixed hours, can only by scholars be fully appreciated. On looking back upon the past history we do not see that the Society ever lost an opportunity, or was wanting to a duty; and if prosperity has departed from its walls, it is mainly owing to the relentless logic of circumstances, and the shifting of the social and literary requirements of the age.

We now proceed to notice the report of 1873 more in detail. The two main Departments are:—

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| I.—Philology | ... | Man illustrated by his "Words." |
| II.—Archæology | ... | " " " " "Works." |

In the former are included the following languages: Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Zend and Pehlavi, Armenian; treated by such scholars as Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, John Muir, Max Müller, FitzEdward Hall, Keen, Goldstücker. The Pali language is worthy of a separate notice, illustrated, as it has been, by Clough, Fansboll, Childers, Hodgson, Turnour, Gogerly, and Hardy. The Vernacular languages have been noticed, though insufficiently with reference to the wide field opened for research. If we pause to consider how during the period under review Pali has been entirely discovered, Zend and Pehlavi rescued from the supposition that they were only inventions of fire-worshipping priests, and Vedic Sanskrit for the first time interpreted, we may form an idea how great the work has been in which the journal has participated. The vernaculars are still an open field for the

scholars of the future, but the treasures of the glorious past have been ransacked. Under the head of Philology will come the interpretation of the great inscriptions on rocks in all parts of Asia. There appears to have been a special literary providence presiding over those ancient nations, which urged them to consign to the safe keeping of the everlasting hills, and to the brick and clay materials of their buildings, those records of their history which other nations have consigned rashly to more perishable materials.

In the Department of Archæology, unwearying have been the labours of Fergusson, Walter Elliott, Meadows Taylor, Cunningham, and Stevenson. The ubiquitous Director, Dr. Wilson, is here, as everywhere, with papers on sects, descriptions of temple worship, verification of itineraries, and judicious and kindly comments on the works of others. Here, again, at least there is an inexhaustible field for the future. If the Government of India have at last taken up the subject of the Archæological Survey in earnest, it must be remembered that it was the Royal Asiatic Society that made the first move as far back as 1844; and the Archæological members of the Society watch the progress with interest, and chronicle its proceedings. In the special branch of Numismatics, which to a certain extent links together the separate pursuits of Archæology and Philology, much has been done during the last quarter of a century by our untiring member, Mr. Edward Thomas.

Outside the two great departments have been numerous contributions to Botany, Geology, Geography, Ethnology, Statistics, Law, History, Commerce, Agriculture; and well-known names appear among the contributors—Sykes, Neubold, Lowe, Oswald, dePriaulx, Marshman, Sir John Malcolm, Sir A. Johnstone, N. E. Baillie, Sir G. Staunton, Sir J. Bowring, Sir J. Davis.

What then are the causes of decay in this Society, and what are its legitimate prospects for the future?

First and foremost, is the fact that the Government of India has risen to the level of its duty to the great subject-State, and undertakes to do by its own officials what it formerly left undone altogether, or allowed private individuals or Societies to undertake. The annual moral and material progress-report of India shows exhaustively how vast those duties are.

Secondly. Rival Societies have sprung up on all sides to divide the great kingdom. Lord Ashburton, as far back as 1855, in a thoughtful presidential address, remarked "that the Society should not care for the loss of the monopoly of doing good, if other Societies do the work as well, the Society should rejoice. The same subdivision of work has taken place in hospitals." The Society might reply that the theory was true and just, but that

the practice might possibly lead to its extinction. It has been found convenient in modern times to divide the work of research according to subjects rather than geographical limits ; and consequently the Royal Asiatic Society, that undertook every thing, has been gradually ousted from portions by the Geographical, the Geological, the Ethnological Society, the Society of Arts, the East India Association, the Palestine Exploration Society, and the Society of Biblical Archæology, and lastly by the Archæological Department of the British Museum, and in fact is now restricted to Literature and Archæology. But still the Asia of the Asiatic Society has never included Russia in Asia, and has been suffered to include North Africa to the Pillars of Hercules.

Thirdly. The subject-matter of the Society's researches, now that the novelty is worn off, is not an attractive one. It requires special training and the creation of spécial tastes, to bring men together to discuss matters which lie so entirely outside the orbit of their daily avocations. In the House of Commons what crowds of members assist in a bill to regulate the licensing of pot-houses, and how few attend to listen to the affairs of the greatest subject Empire that the world ever knew ! Paris is the very centre and metropolis of Oriental study, but this happens because the essence of France is centralised in Paris, which is the seat of her only great university ; and in the meetings of the Société Asiatique the professorial class dominate, without any healthy admixture of the practical element. At any rate, at the Royal Asiatic Society, men still meet, who for a quarter of a century have practised the art of administration of Oriental peoples on the largest scale, and know personally the languages, and the customs, and the places, which are the subjects of their discussions.

The extinction, therefore, of such a Society, or the curtailing of its means of usefulness by a slow process of atrophy, would be a subject of regret ; an average of one hundred members contributing three guineas annually, and forty members non-resident in England, contributing one guinea supplemented by the liberal donation of the Government of India of two hundred guineas, and the interest of the small capital remaining from a period of greater affluence, constitute an income of about £600. There was a time when members were forthcoming, who made annual presents of £100 ; and one liberal patron whose name should be recorded, Sir H. Worsley, presented £1,000. The same sum was contributed by vote of Parliament to assist the publication of the cuneiform inscriptions. The income above stated is pretty equally divided in three shares—the rent of the house, the salaries of the Secretary and his staff, and the cost of printing the journal. This therefore is the minimum on which the Society can exist on the most restricted scale, and no

margin is left for the purchase of books, or any purpose which might appear to be useful. It is difficult to lay down for another what should be their duty, or what might be their feelings; but it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that a certain number of the retired servants of the Indian establishment would annually fill up the vacancies caused by death and too frequent withdrawals. Some scheme of amalgamation with other societies, so as to utilise the rooms and the library, might be hit upon. Several schemes for readjusting the terms of subscription and thus attracting subscribers have been discussed, but without any result. As a fact, the Societies, based upon a guinea subscription, generally have no library and no paid establishment, their operations being conducted by volunteers, and in many cases the use of a room being granted by some public institution, the expenditure is limited to the publication of the journal.

What is therefore earnestly to be desired is that new members could be found in the services in India, as "non-resident," who on their return to the country would take their place as ordinary members. It is often a subject of comment by foreigners, how strangely indifferent the English seem to be to the mine of antiquarian interest, which a kind Providence has thrown into their hands. It has always been so, but perhaps since the extinction of the great Company more so now than ever. We are tempted to transfer to our columns a letter addressed by Mr. Colebrooke to Dr. Wilson as far back as 1827.

"Careless and indifferent as our countrymen are, I think nevertheless you and I may derive some complacent feelings from the reflection that, following the footsteps of Sir W. Jones, we have with so little aid of co-laborators, and so little encouragement, opened nearly every avenue, and left it to foreigners, who are taking up the clue we have furnished, to complete the outline of what we have sketched. It is some gratification to national pride that the opportunity which we English enjoyed has not been wholly unemployed."

A second suggestion is that authors of books, bearing on Oriental subjects, should courteously forward a copy to the library; there are no funds to purchase books. The liberality of many publishers and authors has to be acknowledged. Notice of all new works is duly made in the *Annual resumé* of the progress of Oriental research; and this acts as a kind of advertisement, and instances have been known of persons purchasing a book to which their attention had been called by seeing it casually on the table, or on the shelves of the Society. Many members have presented volumes to the library, and many more have bequeathed books and manuscripts; and for any one who had at heart the advancement of the knowledge of the East, it would appear to be more

appropriate to dedicate his books and manuscripts to a Society which would appreciate them, than to leave them to be sold and scattered, or bequeath them to relatives who have neither taste nor understanding to know their value.

A third suggestion is, there are still many tracts in Asia and North Africa; many dialects of inhabitants of these tracts; many curious customs; many ruins of great buildings; many remnants of the mighty past, which have been imperfectly investigated, and concerning which no authentic or trustworthy details have appeared in public prints. The temptation, of course, is to write a separate book; but such an operation requires leisure, capital, or interest with publishers, and opportunity, and such a work may often fall still-born from the press. On the other hand, a carefully prepared short paper for a journal, such as that of the Asiatic Society, obtains at once a circulation among those able to appreciate it, and at no cost to the writer; and there it remains for reference hereafter, or to form the nucleus of a larger work, if the author's life be spared; if not, the information is not lost, and the writer is honourably remembered. To those who have spent their quarter of a century in India, it must come back that there *was* a time, and there *were* opportunities, and there *was* a special knowledge, which might have been so utilised, had it been understood that all that was required was to forward the paper to the Secretary in Albemarle Street, who would have submitted it to the Council and the Director, who would no doubt have communicated with the writer. Contributors of this kind are more valuable to a learned Society than contributors in money.

And one word with regard to the Society itself. Unquestionably the social advantage of a place of reunion is reduced to a nonentity. The annual meetings are reduced to a mere shadow, if not a sham. No doubt there is a tendency for each member to ride on his own hobby. Old Sir John Bowring's voice will be heard no more about China and Siam; Holt-Mackenzie would have liked to see Land-Revenue and land tenures noticed; Colonel Sykes would have had more statistics; Mr. Marshman would have ventilated Cotton and Railways. Lord Strangford viewed the world from the stand-point of Constantinople; Wilson of Calcutta, and Rawlinson of Babylon. But a little opposition gave a little life; as it is now, the majority of living members are as silent as the marble busts of the old members which surround them. Better lectures to a more sympathising audience might be given in the adjoining Royal Institution; and such contributions, as do find their way to this journal, might find a place in the journal of some one or other of the rival Societies.

But these are duties which this Society alone can discharge. We have mentioned above that all distinguished foreign Oriental

scholars are made Honorary Members of the Society, and their number is added to with judgment, so as not to make the honour cheap, and still omit none worthy of the honour; and then to use the words of the report of 1855—"In their obituary notices the Council records the loss of eminent Oriental scholars, whose great attainments, or peculiar devotedness to the pursuit and extension of our knowledge of Asia, makes it the duty of the Society to trace the steps of his literary progress, and to enumerate the works by which the treasures of Eastern learning has been enlarged."

Then, again, the library of the Society is a convenient one for the concentration of peculiar and special information, which scholars can refer to and borrow. Exchange is made by this Society of its journal with no less than one hundred Societies; and out of this large number many are foreign, and perhaps in no other place in London would the journals and publications of some of these Societies be found when occasion arose to refer to them. If this Library were enriched by further purchases or donations, its value would be still greater. The most is made of it that can be.

But it is on the journal that the Society must rest for its reputation. The Society is the only body that on certain topics can speak upon an entirely independent platform. It can memorialise the universities, or the Government, upon subjects which fall within its special domain; as it has done in times past, when it memorialised the University of Cambridge, not in vain, to make provision for the teaching of Sanskrit, and this last year has represented to the University of Oxford the expediency of constituting a Semitic chair. At the solicitation of the Society, a grant was made from the State for the Rawlinson Inscriptions, and the Society made the first move in the cause of Archæology in India. In the pages of the journal the conflicting views of scholars can be set forth, as in the notable case of the theories of Dr. Goldstücker and Dr. John Muir on Vedic interpretation. When doubt was thrown by sceptics on the genuineness of the Assyrian Inscriptions, in the pages of the journal the sealed translations made by separate scholars were published for the judgment of the learned world. Attention is fearlessly called in the pages of the journal to the neglect of Oriental studies in England; and a constant protest made against the shortsighted policy, which has led to the anomaly, that the conquerors of India have to look to France and Germany for competent persons to occupy Chairs of Oriental instruction, to edit or translate Oriental works, to catalogue Oriental manuscripts, to discharge the offices of librarian and secretary to Oriental institutions, and to conduct researches, for which English industry and intellect ought to be forthcoming. In the journal also are found notices of the

discovery and cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts, both in Europe and India, a kind of information of first-rate importance to the scholar, and which no other journal could supply.

Let it never be forgotten how nobly the old Court of Directors of the East India Company discharged their duties as patrons of learning and literature. It is not intended to make any reflections on the present Government of India, as it is not asserted nor insinuated that patronage is not liberally bestowed on authors and scholars according to what is considered to be right and proper for a constitutional Government, having to answer to Parliament for its proceedings. But the old Court had another law, and another way of dispensing its patronage, sometimes bordering on princely magnificence, with the advantage of abundant funds subject to no account.

We have reserved to the last our notice of what appears to us one of the most important—if not the most important—duty, which may be discharged by the Society through its council, which would be highly valued on the Continent, and be quite *sui generis*; for it is in this journal alone that such a production could appear; and it would itself be the most generally interesting paper that a journal could produce, for, while the contributions on special subjects, such as Assyrian Philology and Indian Archæology are additions to knowledge, still by their very nature they are unreadable, if not unintelligible, to the majority even of the reading public. We allude to a careful and complete annual *resumé* of the progress of Oriental study and research, such as Professor Garcin de Tassy has for many years issued with regard to the vernacular of India, and MM. Mohl and Renan annually compose for the journal of the Société Asiatique. It is no reply that these gentlemen already supply what is wanted, for their admirable discourses are in the French language, published in a French journal of limited circulation; and on some particular side of the subject where the Royal Asiatic Society is strong, the French Society from its opportunities and proclivities is very weak.

The project has long been recommended by the Council and during the last five years has been partially, though ably, carried out by the present secretary. We proceed by quotation to illustrate our proposition.

In 1855 the Council remarked “that some subjects, which the “early labours of the Society were directed to illustrate have been “in great measure exhausted, and information on others of general “interest has been flowing into other channels. The topics of literary, “scientific, and general investigation in respect of Asia have been “so multiplied, and their limits so vastly expanded, that they now “call forth, not only the enlightened attention and active energies “of our own countrymen, but the industry and acumen of our

"continental neighbours, especially those of Germany and France.
"Without a watchful observation of what is brought to light in
"these countries a very imperfect acquaintance is kept up of the
"progress of successful research on Asiatic subjects.

"It seems to follow that in addition to its own contributions to
"the general fund of knowledge, it is desirable that our Society
"should concentrate information of whatever is produced or
"illustrated in respect of Asia by the learning and industry of
"our own countrymen, only residents in foreign lands; that our
"journal should diffuse early information on whatever can
"interest the scholar and the inquirer respecting the races, the
"languages, the products, the literature, the arts, the institu-
"tions, the habits of its varied populations, and that it should
"contain occasional reviews, summary analyses, or other notices
"of recent and valuable works relating to those subjects, whether
"in our own or foreign languages." "Extensive correspondence
"should be carried on in order that literary productions of impor-
"tance and value should be early obtained from the quarters in
"which they have been produced." These are doubtless the
words of Dr. H. H. Wilson.

In 1864 the president, the late Viscount Strangford, remarked
"that the Society must stand, or fall, by its journal as the stan-
"dard of its literary activity and usefulness. India must, as here-
"tofore, continue to occupy a large, and perhaps a disproportionate
"share of the attention of the Society, which might take a pattern
"from the useful and comprehensive review of the Hindustani
"press of India, with which Professor Garcin de Tassy annually
"opens his course of lectures, and extend it to other subjects and to
"the rest of the vast continent, from which the Society derives its
"name. Arrangements have been made for publishing in the
"journal summary notices of the progress of the different branches
"of investigation to which the labours of the Society are directed."

Allusion is here made to an attempt to divide the report into
several departments, and to get several members of council to
report each his special branch of Oriental pursuits. This plan fell
through, and it is open to obvious objections, although adopted by the
Philological Society. The Society could not be responsible for the
opinions, often strained and extravagant, of private members, and
liable to be unduly proportioned to the peculiar idiosyncracies of
individuals. The report of the paid secretary, though complete and
well proportioned, is apt to be colourless and dry, and inexhaustive.
The difficulty is felt on the continent as here; the attempt to
supply the want in Germany has led to another difficulty. Dr.
Gosche's annual report on every publication bearing on Oriental
subjects, or Comparative Philology, is complete and ably drawn up,
but *always many years in arrears, which is fatal to the scheme.*

In 1867 Sir Edward Colebrooke, President, remarked that, "the report of the Council was with little variation the work of their valuable secretary. It differed in one respect from that of last year. While giving a full account of the labours of the Society, it took no survey of those of kindred Societies both of Europe and in the East, which were reviewed in our last report. But it was thought that such a review would prove more interesting when given at certain intervals, as it might be rendered more comprehensive and convey a clearer view of the general progress of Eastern literature. The useful and important object had not been lost sight of." In 1869, Sir Henry Rawlinson, on accepting the post of President for the next year, remarked, "that the educational movement would be in its further development of material use in promoting the spread of Oriental science, and should therefore be a subject of congratulation to the Royal Asiatic Society. As long as he had the honour of presiding over the Society, his attention would be directed to the current literature of India, as much as to the cultivation of Oriental studies in Europe. The two subjects were closely allied and equally deserving of the care of the Society. When he met them again at the next anniversary meeting, he hoped to be able to offer a more detailed review of both these interesting matters."

From the foregoing extracts it may be gathered to be the settled policy to have a complete *resumé* every year to extend over the whole field, including the reports of kindred Societies, such as those of Paris and Leipsic, the Oriental Text and Translation Societies, and kindred institutions such as the Palestine Exploration Fund and Biblical Archaeology Society, the Bibliotheca Indica of Calcutta and Bombay, the Archaeological Survey of India, and a general review in detail of the modern vernacular, as well as the ancient classic or dead languages. Care should be taken that in the two subjects of Philology and Archaeology no portion of the field should be omitted, which may be generally divided into Egypt and North Africa; Assyria and Arabia; India and Ceylon; Java and Malacca; China and Siam; Persia and Central Asia; Turkey and Russia in Asia. While India and Ceylon appeared in every report, other fields might be noticed at greater length in occasional reports; but for India and Ceylon it must be remembered that Europe looks to England for correct information. The native newspaper press, brought under periodical review by the local Governments, presented a new and interesting field for report, as being the first instance in history of an entire freedom of writing and publishing, enjoyed by a subject Oriental people in the midst of decaying customs and religions, and a great upheaving of national sentiment. Under a late law of India all books are registered and entered into catalogues, copies of which

reach the Society, and present a most curious subject for annual analysis.

More might be done to bring the publishers in India *en rapport* with the reading public in Europe. On this subject in 1866 the Council remarked, "that while duly appreciating the talent and scholarship bestowed by learned Hindus and Mahomedans on the cultivation of their ancient literature, and the patronage still accorded to it, as of old, by Native Princes, they cannot refrain on this occasion from recording their full concurrence in the regret frequently reiterated by M. Mohl in his annual reports, that on the one hand, the editors and publishers of works which issue from the native presses of India, do not sufficiently consider the desire of European scholars to possess these books; and on the other, that such desire is not sufficiently brought home to them by those who have the power and opportunities of doing so."

This was indeed penned before the passing of the latest Press Act in India and the publication of annual catalogues; still there is a want of information, and a want of supply of texts printed by private publishers, felt both in London and in Paris, and it appeared to be in the hands of the Society to supply a remedy to both. A careful analysis of the catalogues published annually would supply the information, and a circular from the Royal Asiatic Society to native publishers, and published in native newspapers with the appointment of receiving agents in India, would, if we mistake not, secure a presentation copy of most of the books published: there would remain the expense of bringing them to England, for which perhaps the limited resources of the Society are not equal.

And though many subjects, originally included in the prospectus of the Society, have drifted from it, still others have come into existence. The schoolmaster is abroad in India, and the results are reported annually, and buried in Parliamentary blue books, and remain unknown to the general home and continental public. The results of education are showing themselves in the institution of Anjumans and Literary Societies, of which nothing is known in England. The reports of the great Missionary Societies, if properly analysed, would supply, from a secular point of view, much evidence of the effect of European contact on a great Oriental people, and much *bonâ fide* and *practical* information on the subject dialects and customs. The reports of a Protestant Mission may be distasteful to some in its original object; but no one, interested in the progress of the people, can fail to derive information from a study of operations conducted by purely independent parties from Cashmere to Point de Galle, and on the whole, allowing for a certain amount of professional bias, faithfully reported,

Turning its glance homewards, the Society should in its report mark the progress, or neglect, of Oriental study at the Universities, or in the great arenas of competitive examination, which has become one of the features of the age. The number of professorial chairs in the British Isles should be recorded, and the wants and shortcomings pointed out, prejudices combated, and ignorances cleared up. Then, and then only, can a correct opinion be formed whether, as a Nation, we are doing our duty, and whether sufficient encouragement is afforded by the State to students and scholars. It is a reproach that Englishmen should have to go to Germany to learn certain branches of knowledge, and that Germans should be necessarily sent for to discharge certain duties in England.

It cannot be doubted that if such a report was published annually, and in good time, it would be welcomed by the literary world, and would equal in value, and exceed in general interest, the greater part of the original contributions. The Secretary should be collecting materials throughout the whole year by careful collation of such circulars as are periodically published, as the *Revue Critique*, *Revue Bibliographique*, the *Literarische Central Blatt*, *Trübner's Oriental Literary Record* and such like. Members of the Society should from time to time furnish notices of works which come under their observation; and during the last weeks the report could be drawn up from the materials thus leisurely collected. Nor can it ever be alleged that the Royal Asiatic Society is proceeding beyond its legitimate orbit by noticing Dr. Schliessman's discoveries at Troy, the interesting operations at Ephesus, the solution of the mystery of the Cypriote language, as it must not be forgotten that the Society originally embraced every field of Asiatic research; and although gradually, and by no fault of the Society, but from the tendency of the age, certain subjects have been withdrawn and entrusted to special Societies, still it is to a Report of the Royal Asiatic Society alone that the outer world can look for a survey of *all* the work done and in progress during the past year. Moreover, the Royal Asiatic Society by its original constitution embraced "information of *all* that is known in Asia which belongs to Science, and *all* that is there practised which appertains to Art."

ART. IV.—THE KEATINGE RAJKU'MAR COLLEGE, KATHIA'WA'R.

PERHAPS nothing so nearly brings home to our minds the vastness of our Indian Empire, as any at all detailed account of what is taking place in a distant portion of it which may be unfamiliar to the reader. We do not allude to extraordinary or remarkable events, for regarding these the Indian Press keeps us tolerably posted up ; but more to what may be styled the interior economy of the country, the habits and customs of the people, the progress they are making, and the efforts of Government to encourage them and guide them in the proper course.

General facts are known to us all ; that each province has its educational department, native press, native chiefs, and its own system of managing its land revenue ; but the ordinary Bombay man knows but little more what a Bengalee Baboo is really like than he may have gleaned from Dave Carson's famous caricature ; whereas the denizen of Calcutta or the North-West has an equally remote idea of the merits or demerits of the passed Guzerathi or Deccanee brahmin. Of course, railways, whether broad or narrow gauge, are gradually tending to make us more familiar with each other than in former days, but it is necessarily a work of time. Old ideas and impressions are not easily eradicated ; we Englishmen come out to the country looking on it as a whole, forgetting its size and not being acquainted with its various divisions ; our atlases too have done much towards fostering this ; from our youth we have seen only one map allotted to India, instead of one to Bombay, another to the North-West, and a third to Bengal, and so on. Once out here, we begin to realize how distant from each other and distinct these are, and to correct our previously formed erroneous, though natural, perceptions on the subject.

In the present paper it is intended to give a sketch of what is being done in a very remote portion of India in the matter of the education of native princes, work quietly and unobtrusively carried on, but well deserving such publicity as our pages can afford it.

Kathiáwár, situated on the western coast of India, is a province politically under the Government of Bombay ; its area is about that of the kingdom of Greece, and it consists of various small native states whose revenue averages from 30 lacs to one-third of a lac. The population is rather more than two millions, and over these kinglets, according to their importance, the British Government as paramount power exercises through its political officers a more or less rigid supervision. The inhabitants are warlike and not easily managed by the weak native governments it is our policy to

support. To strengthen and improve the latter, instead of absorbing them, has for long been the aim of our statesmen, and by far the most drastic measure for the attainment of this end has been the founding of the Rajkúmar College.

As its name denotes, it is a College for the sons of kings; and here are collected together, not only the young chiefs of this province, but also some from other parts of Guzerat, such as the Mahi Kántá and Rewa Kántá, where the same language, Guzerathi, is spoken.

The origin of this now fairly established institution may be traced back to a letter in 1864 from the then Director of Public Instruction, Sir Alexander Grant, to the Bombay Government, pointing out the extreme desirability of some machinery being brought to bear for the education of the native aristocracy of the Presidency, and suggesting that it was a subject for consideration in the Political Department. On this a circular was issued to the heads of local administrations, asking for their views as to the best means of educating young native chiefs and nobles, and fitting them for the discharge of their public duties. Amongst the replies elicited, was one from Colonel Keatinge, Political Agent in Kathiáwár, dated 29th March 1864.

He divided such boys of Kathiáwár into two classes: 1st, those whose fathers are still alive; and 2nd, those whose fathers are dead; and stated as his opinion that in the case of the former merely political influence could legitimately be used to induce fathers to educate their children, but with regard to the latter he recommended much more marked and energetic action. His idea further was that the boys must necessarily be removed from the evil influences of their homes, which would involve the establishment of a boarding institution on a considerable scale in British territory, somewhat akin, we presume, to the Wards Institute at Benares, from which the boys could prosecute their studies in the High School. He foresaw that the measure would be exceedingly unpopular in the houses of the minors, but believed that this would not be of long duration.

Here the matter apparently rested till 1867, when a definite plan was determined on of starting a College at Rajkot, the political and military head-quarters of the province. The new Political Agent, Colonel W. W. Anderson, and his assistants used their influence with the chiefs to get them to subscribe for a building, eliciting in all Rs. 30,000 which has since been largely supplemented, and Government sanctioned a further sum of Rs. 20,000 from Local Funds; and on the 25th April 1868 the first stone of the Keatinge Rajkúmar College was laid by Colonel Anderson, who in a happy and encouraging speech, while thanking the donors for their liberality, urged them not to be content with bare

bricks and mortar, but, when the time came, to follow up what they had done by sending their sons to reap the benefit.

The present handsome *Gothic* building was then commenced by Mr. Booth, the Local Funds Engineer. It was designed to form three sides of a quadrangle, of which two have now been completed, containing sleeping apartments for 36 boys, it being part of the scheme that each boy should have a separate dormitory. It is double-storied, and either front measures rather under 300 feet; over the principal entrance is a porch surrounded by a tower about 60 feet in height; on the groundfloor there is a large central hall, 46 feet by 35, and above corresponding to it is the library. Stabling, out-houses for the servants, a racquet court and a gymnasium have also been erected.

The front portion, with accommodation for sixteen boys, was completed in 1870, and the opportunity of the Governor of Bombay, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, visiting the province that year was taken to open it with all due *eclat*. The 16th December was the opening day.

The mere fact of His Excellency being present, and the admirable speech he made on the occasion, did much to give it a good start, as showing that the ruler of the Presidency was himself warmly interested in its future success, and that the scheme was attended with the best wishes and sympathy of the paramount power.

The idea of the boys attending the High School for their education had been abandoned, and it was resolved that the College should be complete in itself and not a mere boarding-house. This probably detracted somewhat from its first necessary unpopularity, as to these highborn young chiefs and their parents, the notion of their attending daily at one common seminary with their future subjects would have been eminently distasteful.

Accordingly the Educational Department was requested to nominate the staff. The gentleman selected for Principal was Mr. Chester Macnaghten, an English University man. A happier choice could not have been made, and the success the College has attained, and the gradual eradication of the many suspicious prejudices entertained against it, must in no small degree be attributed to his untiring efforts. Kind and firm, equally at home with the boys, whether in the class-room or the playground, he unites qualities likely to endear and attach the mind of youth. That of the Vice-Principal, Mr. Turquand, was another good appointment, and he has ably seconded the views of his chief. The remainder of the staff consisted of two masters, a Sanskrit master, a Persian Moonshee and a teacher of Gymnastics.

At the commencement of 1871 these all assembled at their posts, and it was arranged that the first term should commence on the

1st February. On that day only one boy presented himself, Tukt Singji of Bhownuggur, the future ruler of the wealthiest state in the province. Mr. Percival and Sir Gowrisanker Oodisanker, the joint administrators during his minority, by causing the punctual presence of this youth, did much to give confidence to others; eventually the number rose to twelve.

The difficulties to be surmounted in getting any boys at all to attend can be imagined. Although most of the twelve pioneers were minors, yet the ladies of their families, who in Kathiáwár exercise no little influence, were directly hostile to it, as also were the servants of the Durbars, Brahmins, who as a class had for generations exercised the virtual management of their masters' estates together with the contingent advantages of the position. They of the present day were quite shrewd enough to perceive that if their chiefs really became manly and educated, and as a consequence began to look into matters for themselves, the sum of their prosperity was likely soon to set. The opposition of both was very natural and that of the mothers demands our sympathy. To an English widow it is a great wrench to part from her son to launch him on the river of school life; she has her hopes and fears, but has always looked on the day of parting as inevitable, and her education shews her that it is for the boy's permanent good, and it has always been the custom in her family and in those of her neighbours; lastly, the boy himself is only too anxious to enter in the first heat of the race of life. Here all this was wanting; the youths did not like it, the relatives, male and female, were against it, it had never been the custom hitherto, and there was a suddenness in the call rendering it very different to an event which had been looked forward to from her son's birth, and thus to a certain extent discounted when the time of separation arrives.

Persons looking at the College as it is now, after a short existence of three years, are apt to underrate or forget these original obstacles; but when we come to reflect on them, it certainly speaks well for the firmness of the Government and the tact of the political officers that they were ever overcome. The first term "at the prison," as it was currently styled amongst the natives, was purposely a short one, and in April the twelve boys returned to their homes to tell during the vacation what they had seen, whom they had seen, and what they had done.

Since then the number has gone on steadily increasing, last term the very respectable total of thirty having been reached. The Nawáb of Janágadh, the principal chief in the province, lord of Somnath and the sacred Gírnár Hill and its famous Asoka stone, sent his heir-apparent; though he, a youth of seventeen years of age, was too old to go through the whole course, yet the example thus set was a marked one. In 1873 reinforcements were received

from the Rewa Kantá in the shape of the young Rajas of Barria, Lunawara, and Soonth, the two former of whom had till then been at the Tálúkdári school at Ahmedabad. Indeed, as far as numbers go, it is a question whether as regards Kathiáwár the maximum that is desirable has not already been attained ; it would probably now be easy to attract more boys whose parents would be only too glad to undergo the expense, which varies from £15 to £30 per mensem, for the sake of the good connections and friendships their sons might make, and for the increased importance they themselves would acquire in the eyes of their neighbours ; but it would be a fatal mistake to allow quality to be sacrificed for quantity, and the prestige of the College would be greatly lowered throughout the country. It has been christened the ' Rajkúmar ' College, and that it should remain.

Early in each year a speech day takes place, when all the officers of the station, military, civil, and political, together with the ladies, assemble to hear the speeches and see the prizes presented for the work of the past year. The writer of this article had the honor of receiving an invitation to the last gathering of the kind, which was held on the 11th March 1874. The large College Hall was tastefully decorated with banners and flowers, and was well filled by the leading natives present at Rajkot. Punctually to the hour named the 29 boys of whom the College then consisted marched in and took their places in order ; they were neatly dressed and varied from eighteen to nine years of age ; all wore English shoes and the absence of jewellery was marked. Such occasions are usually inaugurated by a speech by the Principal, and the following extracted from that delivered in 1872 will well bear quoting.

Mr. Macnaghten, after some remarks as to the progress made during 1871, says :

" Generally we desire to win these youths by a system of gentleness and honest humanity. We do not expect nor desire perfection, and shall forgive small irregularities in things not wrong in themselves, so that deceit may have no room to live, for it cannot live where there is nothing to hide, and that there may exist among us a simple and honourable confidence. We believe that this confidence between man and man is the quality most needed by natives of India generally, and that having this the chieftains of Kathiáwár will most successfully, as well as most honourably, be able to answer to their high vocations. They will learn, we hope, to trust each other and so hereafter to trust and help their subjects too. We believe that above all things a system of check and suspicion is to be avoided. We believe that for moral, just as much as for physical, development it is not good to close our windows so long as the air which comes in is

"healthy. Better even to take in occasionally a little bad air than persistently to interrupt the light and freshness of heaven. We believe that by it that most delicate as well as most noble of human qualities which we express by the word 'honour' (we all know what it means, though we find it hard to define) may best be encouraged and increased. So much for our moral training, on which it is difficult to speak definitely. In intellectual and physical matters, our discipline will be fixed and regular, and such regularity we believe to be as pleasant as it is wholesome. For by it mind and body are hardened and matured, and there comes that keen enjoyment of life's powers which makes the tempers of some men so buoyant and so bright—the rejoicing of a young man in his strength. And thus we hope that in some small degree the scholars of the Rajkumar College may tend towards the poet's ideal, the *mens sana in corpore sano*; we do indeed wish sincerely for them that they may do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly as men who are conscious of a great responsibility. And we believe that their nature is good, and that they are capable of worthily filling the high position to which they are called. Only they must not be idle. Now, if ever at any time, chiefs must be active and self-denying. A chief who is a chief only in name cannot in these rapid days of upward progress and thought hope to hold his own or even to exist beyond a very short span. The old times are passing away and all things are becoming new—in Kathiáwár slowly perhaps—yet in Kathiáwár as surely as in other places. We see the old walls surrounding the towers and hamlets of Sauráshtra rapidly falling into decay, and we know that they will never be rebuilt, such means of defence being now useless. But a better and wiser defence there is than that of stone walls, and that is in the strength of a good and wise government. If these boys, who surround us now, shall use the advantages of their youth—advantages which none of their fathers ever before have known—they may hereafter by a mutual friendship and faithful administration give to Kathiáwár, a light and a security such as she has never yet seen."

This year the prizes were distributed by Colonel Anderson, the Political Agent, who from the first has taken so warm an interest in all connected with the College, and who now on his retirement is about to relinquish the helm to his successor, Mr. J. B. Peile, formerly Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, who from his position and previous experience will be able to do much for the institution, at the opening of which by the Governor he was officially present. The prizes were by no means, as might perhaps have been expected, indiscriminately awarded,—to every sort of some kind of award,—but were few and consisted of hand-

some volumes which were evidently valued by the recipients. With the view of exciting some sort of emulation amongst youths whose material future, whether or no they choose to exert themselves, is tolerably certain, a rigid system of marks is kept up throughout the year, and the first boy only in each class obtains a prize. In addition, there were three general prizes open to all, for English speaking, Gymnastics and good conduct; the last was gained by a young Mahomedan, Hussain Mja, of Mangrol, who also received another reward as being head of the third class. This is satisfactory as shewing that Mahomedans if properly treated, at all events among this class of boys, can fully hold their own with Hindus.

Then followed the speeches consisting of pieces from works such as Aytoun's or Macaulay's Lays, Macaulay's Essays, &c., admirably selected and very well rendered. The pronunciation of the English was in several instances very fair, and all by the emphasis and expression given showed, not only what trouble must have been taken by themselves and their tutors, but also that they understood and grasped the spirit of what they were declaiming. Their memory was something astonishing, the longest piece being recited without hesitation or prompting. The nervousness one so often sees in English boys when thus placed in a prominent position was quite unobservable, all seeming as self-possessed as though nothing special were taking place.

The importance attached to a knowledge of English is noteworthy; all down to the lowest class learn it, and the theory that no one ought to attempt a new language till he is thoroughly well up and grounded in his own is manifestly not acted up to in the College curriculum.

After the speeches the meeting adjourned to the playground, the European officers and gentlemen present joining the boys in a game at rounders, which and foot-ball seem to be their favourite amusements.

The youths as a body appear to afford an excellent material on which to work; frank, gentlemanly, friendly with each other, and respectful to their superiors, they are not forward or too familiar with strangers. When they first came some of them would hardly speak to each other on account of hereditary feuds between their families; many of them are Jharej Rajputs, a tribe notorious not so very long ago for the practice of infanticide. There is also a sprinkling of Mahomedans whose ancestors were by conquest a comparatively recent importation. In all but religion they have adopted the habits and customs of the conquered. The Kathis, too, chiefly memorable as being the most accomplished plunderers of the day and for having given a name to the province, are represented. There are, as a matter of course, no

low caste boys, all being able to trace lineage back to a distant period, and some to many centuries.

Each is allowed four attendants, and riding drill being one of the branches of education, horses form a necessary portion of the outfit. The servants are men of the opium-eating Durbári class, who would invariably much prefer to be at their homes, but who can by no means afford to lose their position by failing to cling closely to the skirts of their young masters; from the very nature of native society they are an unavoidable nuisance.

The interior economy of the College is pretty much as follows:— Rise at 5-30 A.M. at sound of bell, gymnastics on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; riding or drill on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; lessons on full school days from 8-30 to 12-30, and in the afternoons from 1 to 4. Thursday is a half holiday and corresponds to the military station holiday, which enables the boys often to join with the European gentlemen in their sports.

After 4 P.M. out-door games till dusk, after which reading and in-door amusements till 9 P.M., at which hour all including servants must be in bed.

The subjects for study and the hours for each are regularly mapped out, and strict punctuality is observed which disciplines the youthful mind and shews them the advantage of methodical habits. It is quite possible that ere many years the College will possess boys capable of matriculating in the Bombay University, but should a forced residence at Bombay be necessary to enable them to take degrees we doubt whether it would be worth while exposing them to the temptation of a town life at so early an age.

The programme really desired is that the minors should enter at about 10 years of age and remain till 18, after which they should spend a year travelling in India, and on their return make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the practical working of government in their own territory, and at 21, assume charge of their estates. This can in no case be fully carried out and fairly tested for another six or eight years at least, as the College only dates from 1871; a few young men after spending about a year at it have already gone through a course of travelling, but none of the minors have as yet attained their majority, and those who are just about to do so entered at far too advanced an age to reap the full benefits. The only obstacle in the way of this scheme is the custom which prevails of marrying when about 16 or 17 years old. This is the event of the young chief's life, and from that time they are in native durbars looked upon as having put off childish things. The return to school and its discipline is, as a consequence, exceedingly distasteful to the boys, their connections, and relatives. Some sympathy also may be felt for the young wives, but as there are

generally three or four of them, none of whom has either seen or been seen by the bridegroom before the wedding day, it may be presumed that the bonds of affection cannot as yet have been drawn very tight.

Still afterwards keeping the would-be young man in leading strings is entirely opposed to native ideas, and in each individual instance strong pressure from without will doubtless be required.

The College has at present a somewhat hand-to-mouth sort of existence, each chief paying for his share of actual expense and no more. There is no endowment and no funded property; this is a subject for some anxiety, as from the nature of the institution the number must always be very liable to fluctuate, and should it through any cause ever fall to a low ebb, some difficulty might be experienced in maintaining it on its present liberal scale. Chiefs who have already opened their pockets so generously would not cheerfully entertain the idea of any general fresh subscription for no immediate or tangible benefit, but merely for ensuring a certain future to what seems to them already sufficiently able to stand and take care of itself. Anything at all tending to revive its first unpopularity has to be jealously guarded against; perhaps a certain extra percentage on the monthly account of each boy attending lumped in his bill would be as simple a way as any, and the one least likely to be felt of raising a fund which, invested in Government Securities, would gradually accumulate to something considerable.

Enough has been written, however, we hope, to shew the reader that here, in old Sauráshtra, the land of the sun, as its former name was,—a land in which superstition has ever held an easy sway, a land in which till very lately infanticide was an habitual practice, and where in certain portions in every third or fourth village may now be seen the memorial stones of suttees which had there taken place, a land notorious for its unsettled state and for the lawless character of its inhabitants,—has been established an institution abounding in matter for congratulation for the present and still richer in hope for the future. Though under its control, it does not cost the paramount power one anna, being entirely self-supporting; no extra cess is levied for its maintenance; the boys are not turned out from it mere conceited prigs, but fairly educated young gentlemen. Good riders and fond of sport, they possess qualities calculated to be pleasing to their subjects, and having the desire to do well and govern justly early instilled into their minds, they are not unlikely to succeed. As the branch has been bent so should the tree grow.

The caviller might say—but to this we think little importance need be attached—that such a course of training may render

the young men too independent; that they may lose the ready obedience and respect that has always been accorded to the representations of our political officers, seeing, as they must, that these are but subordinate officials, and not, by any means, the Government itself, as in primitive times they were more nearly considered. Still will they not equally see by their increased knowledge what exceedingly small people they themselves really are, and how even the aggregate amount of all their estates is only a speck as compared with the Empire of Queen Victoria on which the sun never sets.

Also that by making these chiefs personally acquainted, friendly and intimate, with each other, we are depriving ourselves of a weapon which has always stood us in good stead since the battle of Plassey and the days of Clive and Warren Hastings; we are removing their old distrust of one another, thus rendering them far more fitted to band together for any common object. The selfishness of the argument is alone sufficient to condemn it, and it is not unreasonable to hope that should any occasion occur in which the whole province is called on to act with one mind, the recollection of their College days and its lessons may decide them on united action in the course of straightforward loyalty to their English suzerain.

It may be that the College has not made homes any happier, that it has excited discord in many, disagreements between husband and wife, or father and son. Of these, fortunately perhaps, we can know but little, there being a wide gulf between us and the inner life of Indian families. Regret it we must, but there should now be a counteracting source of pleasure to the relatives in witnessing the improvement that has taken place in the young Laird, and more than one father has pointed out to the writer, with evident pride, how manly his son was growing up, or what an excellent rider he had become,—qualities to them far more worthy of remark than any amount of book-lore.

The Keatinge Rajkumar College may have cost much money, but the return, we are confident, will be more than cent per cent in the increased happiness and better government of Kathiáwár and Guzerát; and in this belief we heartily wish it Godspeed.

ART V.—TAMIL POETRY.

1.—*Taylor's Oriental Manuscripts.*

2.—*Graul's Indische Sinnpflanzen.*

3.—*Baierleins—Tamulen Land.*

TELUGU is often called the Italian of the South of India ; and the *profanum vulgus* are in the habit of jumping at the not illogical deduction that the other languages of that part of our great peninsula are uncultivated and barbarous. This, however, is a conclusion by no means just. Telugu when purely spoken is certainly a melodiously sounding language, but Telugu is spoken in its purity in only a few districts of the Northern Circars. Elsewhere it often becomes a barbarous dialect. Even in its purity it has but little original literature, that is, *poetical* literature ; the only literature of worth in India, previous to the prosaic British occupation. The poetry of the language consists for the most part in its sound and accent. On the other hand the harshest and most guttural of the Southern languages is, as far its literature is concerned, the most poetical. It has not only a better appreciation of poetry, in whatever form or from whatever country, it is not only the most adaptive of *all* Indian languages, but it also boasts of the greatest number of original poets. In fact the Tamil language may be said to have never condescended to prose, and the history of Tamil land is to be found written only in poetry. Modern history is prose ; prosaic prose ; but our ancient history, and especially our Biblical history, is written in beautiful, though comparatively unread poetry. It is therefore not strange that the most poetical language of Southern India should be the most historical, and it would be unfair to call that merely mythical poetry, which is in reality our only historical record. It is the fault of 'our age of iron' with its statistical returns, its red tape and its system of decentralisation, that each branch of art and science is confined to its own department ; and is, as it were, labelled, docketed and put in its own separate pigeon-hole. Poetry should embrace all that is most perfect and most beautiful of every art and science. Even painting and sculpture take but a secondary rank when compared with poetry, and are of use only to portray or represent poetical thoughts and images. Music is only another way of writing poetry, and it has been said that the greatest masters have derived as much enjoyment from the writing, or the reading of a score, as the audience afterwards did from its performance. The higher enjoyment in such a case would, undoubtedly,

be that of composing, the hearing being merely a sensual pleasure. So it was with the Tamil poetry ; as Homer put his history ; Virgil his agricultural knowledge, and Lucretius his metaphysics into poetry, so a Tamil poet was but little esteemed, unless his works were replete with everything that he could collect of history, science, metaphysics, and religion ; and he was not content with merely referring to former discoveries in a foot-note, but each poet endeavoured to embody in his own work all that had been written or discovered before his time, and embellished the same with his own fancies, and added to it his own discoveries.

The capital of Tamil literature and science was Madura, in which town the brilliant members of the Pandion dynasty managed to collect all the most eminent poets, sages and sculptors. A high school was founded with 48 professorial chairs. Under these learned pedants, however, the Tamil language was in danger of losing its purity until the Cural of Tiroovallava effected a revolution in the language. Tiroovallava was essentially a popular poet ; a Pariah by birth,* his aim seems to have been to bring knowledge within the reach of all classes. Taylor in his 'Oriental Manuscripts' thus speaks of the work :

"Tiroovallava, guided by advice, had the address to select three "topics of general interest and to avoid entirely everything "that might be disputed or might be offensive to any of every "sect ; adding to this precaution great ingenuity of thought and "peculiar beauty and elegance of language, he produced a work "which united every suffrage, and stands confessed, even to the "present day to be the best and chief of all compositions in the "polished dialect." After Tiroovallava follows a long list of Tamil poets, amongst these one of the most favourite is Avyar, Tiroovallava's sister. Royalty, indeed, enters the ranks of the poets and we find a Pandion King of Madura Adi Veera Rama (circa 1040) bringing out a book of poetry—the third book of the so-called 'minor poets' ; a class-book taught in the Government schools. But long before this date a revolution, even more important than that effected by Tiroovallava, indeed, to a certain degree brought about by Tiroovallava's book, swept over the whole of the Pandion kingdom. We allude to the overthrow of the Jains. Tiroovallava was a Jain, and about the time of his influence, we find Jainism—a creed hateful to the Brahmins, because it ignored them and their gods—increasing in strength all over the kingdom of Madura, until at last it was professed by the 48 doctors themselves, and in the ninth century we find that the King of Madura, Kuna, was himself a Jain. Kuna, however, married a daughter of the powerful Chola dynasty—Dasvani by name—through whose means

* A Brahmin father and a Pariah mother.

he was converted to the orthodox faith. The actual cause of this conversion was a severe illness from which no one could cure him until he at last turned to the Sivavite sage, Nyana Samandar, and promised to embrace the Siva religion if he would effect a cure. The king was cured; his physician further demonstrated the truth of his religion by the miracle of a palm leaf swimming up the Vyga stream; a persecution of the semi-Buddhist Jains followed, and 8,000 of the leading men were put to death or hunted out of the country. The history of this revolution and persecution is to be found in the 62nd and 63rd Tiruvilliadal, translated by Taylor in the 1st volume of the Oriental Manuscripts.

During the next century literature flourished in Madura, and a quantity of poems put in their appearance, many of which have survived the eight centuries which have since elapsed. We will endeavour to give the reader a few specimens from some of these later on.

Towards the close of the eleventh century Madura was burnt down and never afterwards attained its former state of power and magnificence, though the splendid hall of pillars which still exists as one of the noblest of Indian structures, was, probably, since constructed at a cost, it is said, of ten millions of rupees.

Regarding the poetry itself we now propose to offer a few words. The Cural of Tiroovallava is but a small book, but as the sage *Kapila* is reported to have said, in giving his decision in favour of the book being allowed a seat on the golden bench of the academy, "its meaning is extensive, even as in a drop of water on the top of a blade of grass, may be seen reflected the image of a great tree." It consists of 1,330 verses each of two lines, and treats of the three objects of man—Virtue (denial) Possession and Love. The rhyme, as in all Tamil poetry, is at the commencement of the verse, and the language is so compressed as to be not easily intelligible even to well-educated men. The same may be said of all Tamil poetry, and when taught in the schools it is necessary to explain each word to the scholars. But in spite of all these difficulties, the Tamil people cling to these poems with much affection; and love on different occasions to repeat them to a circle of pleased listeners.

The following is a specimen extracted from the first book of the so-called "Minor Poets" and attributed to Avyar, the sister of Tiroovallava :—

Aram Sheya Virumu.

Be anxious a deed of kindness to show;
Ere eating, your alms you first should bestow;
A benefit shown you, you ne'er should forget;
Nor let sleep a mastery over you get;
Be not idle to-day and idle to-morrow;
Nor yield up entirely your mind to your sorrow;

or the following from the third book, said to have been written by King Adi Veera Rama :

The mighty seed of the sweet juicy fruit of the palm tree
Though nourished and borne high up o'er our heads in the heaven ;
Yields when grown to a tree, for one man not even,
Shadow sufficient.

The diminutive seed of the fruit that grows on the banyan,
Though smaller than even the tiniest fish spawn in water,
* Yields when grown to a tree, to kings with their fourfold equipment
Of footmen and riders of chariots and elephants
Shadow sufficient—

Therefore—

The Great's not always great at all,
Nor always little what is small.

Another little book sings :

If thou doest a good deed, ask not again in the instant—
What good will it bring me ? what fruit ?
Think but once of the palm tree that gives from its summit
The water it drank at its foot.

Again :

Till it falls, to the man that e'en fells it,
Gives the tree refreshment and shade—
Till he dies, by the good man all evil,
Is by good acts requited and paid.

The following may serve as a specimen of a Tamil satirist, and is translated from the late Dr. Graul's "*Indische Sinnpflanzen*" :—

O fools ; who restless wander and cry 'tis hard, 'tis hard,
In towns and lands and deserts to find the highest Lord ;
Whose all pervading Presence through Earth and Heaven swells ;
Look nearer home *ye fools*, within your breasts he dwells ;
To Kasi ! Kasi ! criest thou, until thy feet are sore ;
When reached, is thy heart's longing less bitter than before ?
But better tame thyself and bid thy passions flee,
Then gaze within thyself ; the true Benares see !

The following stanza might with advantage be remembered by some of our B. As. :—

I read and write and who knows more, I pray ?
Such are the notes ye asses like to bray.
O worms ! who nothing know, can never know,
Be wise ! your writing-madness to the breezes throw ;

or this might be commended to the consideration of many a sleek pilgrim :

Brahminical cheat ! with the close shaved head
With offerings, Vedas, and sacred thread ;
Let thy mummeries cease and wisdom learn,
Ere in Brightness divine an absorption thou'lt earn.

Hitherto, however, our extracts have touched only on religious subjects. We will now attempt a specimen from Parapoorul's

spirited war poem ; we again translate Dr. Graul's rendering and adopt his metre :

(THE KING GOES TO BATTLE.)

Like a sea surges up the terrible host,
As by wind in its fury now goaded ;
And the monarch storms past through the opening ranks
In a chariot with gold overloaded ;
And their flies round the host in its front and its rear
In circles still growing more narrow,
A flock of black demons whose wide gaping maws
Will feed on the fallen one's marrow.

(THE QUEEN'S SORROW.)

Who once filled a throne lies stretched on the field
Whilst foes of his valour are singing,
But ' husband ! O husband ! ' exclaims the wife
Of the smile so tender and winning.
And weeping and moaning she puts next her heart
His wreath all faded and gory ;
And clings to the breast which pierced by a dart
Is covered with heavenly glory.

(A HERO'S DEATH.)

Like the lion who roams through the forest glades wild
His eyes with majesty flashing,
Yields his life without murmur when struck by a rock
Which comes through the valley down dashing ,
So the hero with sword all dripping with blood.
Looks round on the hosts that surround him,
Then flashes his eye, he raises his hand—
And falls with his foes all round him.

The foregoing are a few specimens of Tamil original poets, but the number of translators and adapters is even greater. Amongst the most important of the former is the translation of Valmiki's great poem the Ramayan ; two ponderous volumes, compiled, probably, by several authors. The Tamulian prides himself that this translation is even better than the original, and many persons gain their livelihood by carrying about the heavy books and chanting out their contents to a circle of wondering hearers. This translation is in prose, but this by no means prevents its being sung ; and these wandering troubadours often sit up till midnight, singing in a dreary monotone, relieved now and then by the twang of a guitar, or the beat of a tom-tom, the adventures of the pious Râma, the Tamulian's favourite deity, and his faithful wife Sîtâ. We would willingly give a specimen from the prose translation, but space forbids us.

We will now endeavour to give a specimen of a Tamil theological poet, avoiding, however, the abstruser questions into which Indian poets so willingly enter. The following extract from Tayuma

naver, portrays well the feelings of man of acute sensibility, and deep thought, who, though unable to disconnect himself in his daily life from the rites of idolatry, still yearns for something higher and nobler.

Again, we translate from Dr. Graul's rendering :

Knowing all my thoughts, for ever and again
 Thou comest to refresh me ; then grace bestowing rain,
 O Supremest Being.
 Thou nectar never cloying, thou stream of heavenly bliss
 O thou the God that dwellest in perfect loneliness,
 O Supremest Being.
 All things pervadest thou, O sweetest honey dew,
 My inward self-possessing thou sweetenest through and through
 My coral thou, my pearl, my mine of purest gold ;
 My beam of brightness, spirit-light and priceless wealth untold ;
 O Supremest Being !
 My eye, my thought, my tree by heavenly stream ;
 My æther ray ! my joy ! my wonder giving dream ;
 O Supremest Being !
 O sea of bliss ! may I not plunge in thee ;
 Nor quench the thirst which now destroyeth me ?
 O Supremest Being !
 When will my sorrow cease, my fountain spring ;
 And flow again with joy, O thou my Prince and King ;
 O Supremest Being.
 To thee in silent worship, I ever cling and pine ;
 And like an orphan child, I restless long and pine ;
 O Supremest Being !
 However guilty I, whatever wrong I do ;
 I ask thee motherlike, thy pitying love to show ;
 O Supremest Being !

There is a tenderness of longing about these lines that reminds the reader of the royal Psalmist and would lead one for a moment to suppose that such a man might almost be persuaded to be Christian ; but no ! the ties of caste and tradition are fetters to heathenism which it is almost impossible for the Hindoo to shake off.

Perhaps the most favourite poetry amongst the Tamil people consists of the short proverbs which they bring into their every day conversation.

The man who can back his argument or opinion by a happily quoted proverb generally gets the last word. We will attempt a few of those attributed to King Adi Vira Râma, whom we have already mentioned :

A wise man's beauty is his faultless speech ;
 A teacher's—if he practise what he preach ;
 A rich man's—if he helps his kindred poor ;
 A king's—whose righteous sway is just and sure ;
 A merchant's—to increase his store of gold ;
 A statesman's—who the future can unfold ;

A host's—to see his guests around his board ;
 A wife's—who never contradicts her lord ;
 A farmer's—if his plough can give him bread ;
 A mistress'—if with gold she deck her head ;
 A sage's—to repress conceit and pride ;
 A poor man's—honesty—whate'er betide ;

or the following :

We often think, led by a liar's specious tone,
 That words of truth within his falsehoods lie ;
 But, from his stammering awkward speech alone,
 We sometimes think the true man tells a lie.

On the changes of fortune this Pandion Solomon remarks :—

Who rides in state for but a mile or more,
 May have to walk until his feet are sore ;
 Who feasted crowds may beg from door to door,
 Whilst those are princes who have begged before.

A few other specimens of the formulæ used at Tamulian domestic ceremonies, and we will conclude.

The following is the ceremony of a Tamil betrothal. After many preliminaries the young couple walk three times round an altar, on which burns a fire, and then prostrate themselves in honour of “the unknown God” (*ariâda devanci*). This analogy to the old Greek superstition is very remarkable, and it is melancholy that in Tamil-land as well as in Greece, the number of idols should not satisfy the people or set at rest the craving of their souls, which are still longing for the one and only God, but he alas ! is unknown ! After this the wife touches fire and water in order to signify her willingness for household service. Then for the first and last time in her life she eats with her husband ; for in future, her meals can only be enjoyed after her lord and master has himself eaten. After these ceremonies, familiar conversation commences amongst the guests, and if there happen to be any learned Brahmins present they recite for the edification of the company some such old sayings as the following :—

Sloth and sickness, woman's worship,
 Contentedness and bashfulness ;
 An overweening love for home,
 Are six things, obstacles to greatness.
 The sage becomes although devoid of riches
 An object of respect,
 The miser is, although possessed of riches
 An object of contempt.
 Like dust on the feet are riches ;
 Like the rush of a torrent is youth ;
 Like bubbles in water is Life ;
 Like dropping of water is man.

If with fineness of purpose thou keep'st not the laws which alone
 Can remove all the bars and open the portals, of heaven,
 By the hot fire of sorrow thy mind will be surely consumed
 And reached by remorse when the days of old age overtake thee.
 Will he, who clothed the swans in white
 And parrots dressed in green ;
 And decked with fairest colours bright
 The peacocks' glittering sheen ;
 Will he refuse the daily food
 To one who honours him ?

At a death, consolation is drawn by the friends and survivors from a recitation of Rāma's beautiful speech when the news of his father's death was brought to him in his exile. As this, however, will be familiar to many of our readers, we will refrain from giving any quotation from it, especially as it can only be a translation of a translation.

We have thus shown that poetry is intimately connected with the daily life of the Tamulian, and that he has reason to be proud of his literature. Nor should it be imagined that poetry is only a relic of the past. There are many modern poets of considerable excellence, though space forbids us from attempting to give the reader any specimens of their poetry. Indeed, literature generally finds many patrons in Tamil-land, and it is a frequent occurrence to meet a well-dressed native hurrying along the road to his office, and at the same time chanting from an open book in his hand some poetical effusion, ancient or modern ; in the bazaar the shopkeeper will be seen sitting cross-legged bent over a book with which he amuses himself until a customer comes ; and if the master of a house comes unexpectedly round a corner it is ten chances to one but he finds one or another of his servants poring over some badly, blackly printed book. How well Tamil literature is patronised may be gathered from the fact that in 1871, 717 different books, big and little, were printed, and between 1862 and the same year, the " Christian Vernacular Education Society " published no less than 1,088,320 copies of Tamil school books, whilst, without reckoning the labours of the Bible Society, the number of books published during these ten years amounts to more than four million copies.

All this literary activity has not been without a corresponding effect upon the people. They themselves are, perhaps, the busiest, the most industrious, and the most pushing people of India. As roads and railways extend beyond the boundaries of their native Tamil-land, the Tamulians push along with them, ever eager and stirring where money is to be made. It is worthy of remark that they take their language with them. During the present century the boundaries of the Tamil speaking country have been gradually, but surely spreading northwards ; pushing aside

Telugu which in its turn has taken the place of Canarese to the west and north and Uriya to the north-east. Wherever new works are being carried on, contracts to be obtained, or money to be earned, there will be found Madras Ramaswamy with his check handkerchief thrown over his shoulder and his volume of Tamil poetry in his pocket. As civilisation spreads, the language will still continue to spread, so that before many years have elapsed it may not be impossible that the songs, of which we have endeavoured to give our readers a few specimens, may be familiar in many a household of Rural Bengal.

JAMES D. B. GRIBBLE, M.C.S.

ART. VI.—THE FAIR AT SAKHI SARWAR.

THE town of Sakhi Sarwar is at the base of the Sulaimán mountains, on the western border of Dera Gházi Khán, a district of the Panjáb which lies immediately north of the province of Sind. The town is named after a Musalmán saint whose shrine forms the object of annual fairs and pilgrimages. The account of the saint preserved in the local annals is as follows:—His father's name was Zen-ul-Abdin, a native of Baghdád. This man came on a pilgrimage into the Panjáb and married Bibi Asha, the daughter of an Afghan Syiid of Sháhkot in the Multán district. She was the second wife of Zen-ul-Abdin. His first, Fatima, bore him two sons, Sobara and Muhammad Dáúd. Zen-ul-Abdin claimed descent from Ali Murtaza, the husband of the best beloved daughter of the Prophet. Sakhi Sarwar, the son of the pilgrim by Bibi Asha, became a religious teacher on the border, and led a life of prayer and sanctity. The name interpreted means "generous leader," but the bearer of it had been originally known as Syiid Ahmad.

Another and the traditional account is this: Sakhi Sarwar was one of the disciples of Pír Dastagír of Baghdád, a Musalman saint remembered in a popular Perso-Biloch ballad as *Shah-i-hakk-i-Gilani*, the real King of Gilan. It is said Mu'in-ue-din, the Khwájah or Musalmán bishop of Ajmír, went to pay a visit to the Pír. The Khwájah, accustomed to the liberty of his Indian court, loved dancing and music. The Pír regarded these amusements unworthy of his own sanctity, and generally forbidden by the strict injunctions of his religion. When Sakhi Sarwar, who had been appointed by the Sháh to wait on the Musalmán bishop, brought him his richly prepared meal, the latter not relishing the monastic prohibition of the sweet guitar or the many stringed viol, cried out—

نان هست دلي بی نمک است

that is, "there is bread, but there is no salt." The attendant understood the hint and communicated it to his master. The latter, deprecating the profane tastes of the Khwájah, felt himself bound by the laws of hospitality to minister to the wants of his guest. A *Surinda*-player was summoned, who, by his delightful Persian music and his sweet voice, soothed the senses of the Khwájah, and contributed to the fulness of his feast. Sakhi Sarwar, loth to leave, lingered in the Khwájah's apartment and the proscribed sounds fell on his ears. After the departure of the Khwájah from Baghdád, Sakhi Sarwar, in a penitent manner, presented himself before his master, confessed his breach of religious discipline in

listening to the profane imitation of the music of Paradise, and prayed his intercession for divine absolution. It was a great crime in the mind of Pir Dastagir. The favourite and most rigid discipline of his order had been violated by his most trusty disciple, one whose exemplary piety and enthusiasm had hitherto afforded him the highest gratification. Forgiveness was impossible; but he gave him a letter to the Khwájah requesting him, for whose entertainment the musician had been summoned, to pray for his humble attendant. Sakhi Sarwar went on a pilgrimage to the territory of Ajmir and presented the letter in person. The Khwájah and his most holy men prayed for the forgiveness of the pilgrim, but the former, while feeling no compunctious visitings for the indulgence of his own musical passion at Baghdád, desired that some vestige of the penitent's guilt should remain in satisfaction of his breach of discipline, and, accordingly, decreed that musical instruments, so abominated by his order, should for ever sound over his tomb.

Sakhi Sarwar on his return from Ajmir visited this place with which there had been some previous religious associations. He wished to offer up prayers there, take a last fond look at the pleasant plains of India, and enjoy some repose before tempting his hazardous return journey over mountains and deserts. Overcome with old age, repentance, and fatigue, the holy man yielded up his spirit on the spot which now bears his name.

Another version of the latter story represents Dastagir himself as attending on the Khwájah, and going in disguise through the state to procure minstrels. Having succeeded, after much travel and difficulty, in finding them, he introduced them into the Khwájah's apartment. It was Sakhi Sarwar's duty to punish any one who disregarded the prohibition of music and minstrels. He burst abruptly into the governor's chamber, and enquired who dared summon minstrels within his own jurisdiction. Shah Dastagir took the blame on himself. Sarwar replied, "When such irreligious acts proceed from the Kaaba itself, what will become of Islam?" The Ajmiri, witnessing this scene, became enraged at the insolence of his host's servant, and cursed him. In an instant the face of Sakhi Sarwar darkened like the sun behind a cloud. When Dastagir beheld the metamorphosis of his favourite, he interceded for his forgiveness. The Khwájah upon this raised his finger and flung the blackness from Sakhi Sarwar's face towards the country of Kohistan, darkening its hills, its waters, and its people. It was then that the Khwájah pronounced the judgment regarding musical instruments over the tomb of the saint. To verify the legend regarding this particular, relays of Mirásis are attached to the temple, who, night and day, startle the air with the sound of gongs and drums, and many jarring instruments.

There are conflicting accounts as to the date of Sakhi Sarwar's demise. The most probable is that which represents it as 650 A.H. The present temple is said to have been originally built by Jasput and Lakhput, prime ministers of a monarch of the the Panjáb, whose era I have failed to discover. The names are unmistakably Hindu, but this throws no suspicion on the fact of the shrine being that of a Musalmán saint. In this part of India, Hindus as well as Musalmáns make offerings at the grave, and invoke the divine intercession of God's Musalmán favourite; and building a temple to him were but a simple act for those who could command the labours of a people. Or the bones of Sakhi Sarwar may have been a subsequent acquisition to the sanctity and renown of the Hindu sacred edifice.

As might be expected from a people of a highly militant creed, there are traditions regarding the prowess as well as the sanctity of the saint. The hill that overlooks his tomb is said to have been infested by a prodigious giant. This monster was very oppressive. He used at night, standing on the hill top, to raise aloft a torch in his hand and allure unwary travellers to their destruction. Against him Sakhi Sarwar and his four companions waged a religious war. It was long and fierce, but, eventually, by divine interposition, the cause of the holy man triumphed. The hill trembled at the fall of the giant's frame, but it was not until the saint had lost his four beloved friends in the encounter. I could not discover what species of weapons was employed in this important combat, whether the saint shot with a Parthian bow, whether the giant fell wielding a Cyclopean spear, or, like the classic Cacus, poured out cataracts of fire on his opponents.

The fame of the saint attracted numbers of sick people to be cured by him. Among these, three persons, Shaikh, Kulang, and Kabir, are particularly mentioned. They were, one blind, a second impotent, and the third afflicted with boils; and on being, it is said, speedily restored to perfect health by the prayers of the saint, became his most constant and faithful attendants. They performed his last rites and buried his body where it is now supposed to rest. Their descendants are popularly supposed still to remain, their duties being, besides levying alms and contributions from pilgrims, to attend to the cleansing and preservation of the shrine. Their number is said to be exactly 1,650, and to have miraculously remained the same from the time of Sakhi Sarwar's death. It is said that the miracle is ingeniously assisted by the expulsion, at the instance of the head mujáwir, of useless or troublesome attendants. The wives of the attendants at the shrine employ themselves with knitting, spinning, embroidery, and various other household duties. As a foreigner and a Christian, I was not permitted to see such

most holy females, but was told they were famed for their beauty and their gallantries.

The shrine of Sakhi Sarwar is visited by pilgrims from various parts of India. They commence to arrive in February, and come and go until the commencement of Baisákh, the first month of the Hindu year. My subject is not, however, regarding the pilgrimage, but the Baisákh fair which commenced on the 11th of April (the last day of the year, according to the Vikramáditya era), and lasted for three days of the month of Baisákh. That time is the favourite one for Indian fairs and merry makings. These, with the time in which they are selected, bear an analogy to the May-day revels of England in the days when it was called merry, or to the Carnivals with their long trains of amusements in Roman Catholic countries.

For a few days previous to the fair may be seen passing through Dera Gházi Khán a very motley crowd of people and beasts of burden. Dromedaries with every variety of trapping, horses of many breeds, from the pure Biloch, or Arab degenerate through careless nurture, to the ill-favoured country pony; fatted oxen ornamented with beads and loud-twanging bells, and tiny donkeys, slow as in the West, inwardly disgusted at the unreasonableness of their masters, and doubtless execrating all pilgrimages and public gatherings—conveying to the fair the young, the old, the hale, the decrepit, male and female, Hindu and Musalmán, of every calling and of every station—the old man to invoke the blessings of Sayyid Ahmad and once more gaze on the scenes that gladdened his youth; the young buck bent on pleasure; the sallow female long immured by her master's jealousy, now allowed relaxation and the light of day, and regarding the term of the fair as one bright link in an endless heavy chain of years; the fakir, or religious mendicant, with long unkempt locks, clay-painted body and ill-favored *dhoti*, shouting prayers or invocations before the passers-by; the Hindu trader with petty wares bundled on his back, calculating future gains; the boy just verging into adolescence, enjoying the full bloom and dignity of a seat on horseback; the younger female child whose betrothal has been some years completed, soon destined to be a bride and invested with maternal cares; the jugglers with bears and monkeys; the female acrobats; and, last mentioned, but not least conspicuous among the crowd, the scarlet-lady, the sister of her of Babylon, flaunting her *chadar* to the breeze.

The fair was filling, as stated, on the 11th of April, and on the morning of the 12th at which date it was to be, as the Easterns say, *at its greatest heat*, I rode from Dera Gházi Khán to Sakhi Sarwar, a distance of thirty-two miles. There were few incidents worthy of remark on my journey. At Vador, a station about

half-way, I left the high road and proceeded by a pathway through a low sparse jungle. At a distance of a few miles, I joined a troop of native men on horseback. We soon reached a tank within a sort of rath. Here a *fakir* dwelt who supplied water and a few other necessities to travellers. He was clad in a long dirty garment, and the skull-cap with dingy ear-flaps which he wore, presented an equally unfashionable appearance. Having with clasped hands addressed a *salám* to the *Sahib Angrez*, he saluted my companions with the lengthened formula *salám alaikum*, only used among true believers. He invited them to alight and partake of his hospitable *húka*. They did so, and I went on my way.

Some miles further on, I could observe the white buildings of Sakhi Sarwar and the tomb of two of his four companions, or *Sák Saháb*, which was perched on a neighbouring hill. On a nearer approach, the minarets of the mosque of the shrine seemed to resemble the church spires of England. I soon passed by the jaws of a defile called the *Nai*, which opened near Sakhi Sarwar; and glancing at the town now instinct with merry life, the shrine with its forty steep ascending steps, from which, coated with shining stucco, the sun's rays glinted on the valley below, and passing through crowds of people, I made my way to the *Sarai* intended for Europeans. The walls of my room were but roughly plastered, and the dung mixed with earth, which did duty for slate on the outside, was supported by horizontal rafters of the rudest description. In one corner of the room was piled unsightly lumber, and, except this, there was nothing to mar the feeling of desolation within. Furniture there was none obtainable. The *mujáwirs* either despise the new-fangled inventions of modern civilisation, or think a carpet spread on the ground good enough for a member of what they deem an inferior creed. The day was very hot, and I was glad to accept anything whereon to sit or recline. Accordingly, I was installed on a small carpet on the ground, such an one as is said to have been used there by a late Governor-General* of Her Majesty's Indian dominions, when he visited the place in an inferior, but not less honorable, position as Chief Commissioner of the Panjab.

I learned that my servants, whom I had sent before me on the previous day, had not arrived. I concluded that they had lost their way in the rain and darkness of the preceding night. I, therefore, accepted the *mujáwirs'* offer to provide me with refreshment. While the meal was in preparation, the *mujáwirs*, at my request, showed me the annals of the shrine. These were written in Persian verse, and only formed a very small volume. The paper was dirty and wore an air of antiquity. It reminded me of certain

Brummagem coins which, stamped with the name and insignia of a Roman emperor, and dexterously soiled and defaced, I purchased in my youthful archæological zeal, for a too considerable portion of my pocket-money, from a rough at Clerkenwell. I made no purchase of the volume in question, but extracted from it a part of the information which I have given regarding the saint.

At length a breakfast prepared in Eastern fashion was set before me. It consisted of cakes of unleavened bread, boiled sweet rice, curried fowl, and milk. As the mujáwirs purchase no chairs or couches, so knives, forks, or spoons are not included in the catalogue of their valuables. My long fast and ride left me no time for deliberation. I soon forgot the luxuries of the West, as sitting cross-legged on the carpet, and resting an iron plate on my knees, I ate curry and rice with the fingers, a system practiced with success long anterior to the invention of cutlery, and still the only one employed by the highest as well as the lowest Orientals. M. Ferrier in his "*Caravan Journeys*" extols the custom, but the results of my experience have not prejudiced me in its favor.

After a siesta during the heat of the day, I went out to see the fair. The streets, the flat roofs of the houses, the temples, and their approaches, were all crowded with people. Seen from an eminence, the town resembled a gigantic ant-hill, with its tenants moving in different directions, some vanishing from view, some moving busily about, and some clinging steadily to every "coigne of vantage."

Among the crowded streets and closely pressing throng I made my way to the temple. Here there were crowds assembled, not to propitiate the Saint, not to recite the verse of the holy Koran (*Kurán-i-Sharíf*), but to listen to the singing and admire the dancing of *nách-girls*. These were employed by the mujáwirs, after the mid-day prayers had been read, to diversify the performance.

"Thus love and prayer unite or rule the hour by turns."

The dancing girls are arrayed in the usual flaunting robes, wearing rosy garlands and tinkling anklets; and their coquetry with the spectators is not considered unbecoming the "temple undefiled." However, think not that the mujáwirs sacrifice its precincts to any Paphian rites. The *nách-girls* with their tinselled dresses and the *mirásis* with their guitars and viols, are but the scenic illustrations of the holy building. The mujáwirs wish to excite the visitor's spiritual, not his sensual love, and with the pious object of recalling his mind from the blandishments of the singers, frequently call upon him during the performance for his devotional subscriptions. Moreover, the songs sung are interpreted in a spiritual sense. The *ghazals* of Háfiz are the most popular at such entertainments. To the waspiritual reader

they appear erotic, and as devotional hymns are somewhat difficult of comprehension. A *ghazal* may be compared to an ode of Anacreon or a melody of Moore, men whose piety was, perhaps, not quite equal to their genius. The famous Persian *ghazal*, *Tāza ba Tāza*, was of course sung. It is a song inculcating the love of wine and pleasure, and redolent of joy. As compared with the literature of Hindustan, it is a green spot in a wilderness; it is the champagne cup flowing over at the cheerless banquet of natives; it is a dream of happiness at the ear of enduring misery; yet the native, with his natural imperturbability, betrays no emotion of pleasure, and looks as grave as if assisting at devotions to Sri Krishna or at the apotheosis of the Prophet. The following is a translation, in the measure of the original, of the famous song of Hafiz:—

TAZA BA TAZA.

Singer, O sing with all thine art,
 Strains ever charming, sweetly new; *
 Seek for the wine that opes the heart,
 Ever more sparkling, brightly new!

With thine own loved one like a toy,
 Seated apart in heaven'ly joy,
 Snatch from her lips kiss after kiss,
 Momently still renew the bliss!

Boy with the silver anklets, bring
 Wine to inspire me as I sing;
 Hasten to pour in goblet bright
 Nectar of Shīraz, soul's delight.

Life is but life, and pleasure's thine,
 Long as thou quaff'st the quick'ning wine
 Pour out the flagon's nectary wealth,
 Drink to thy loved one many a health.

Thou who hast stole my heart away,
 Darling, for me thy charms display;
 Deck and adorn thy youth's soft bloom,
 Use each fair dye and sweet perfume.

Zephyr of morn, when passing by
 Bow'r of my love, this message sigh,
 Strains from her Hafiz fond and true,
 Strains still more sparkling, sweetly new!

There is nothing very noteworthy in the architecture of the shrine. Eastern mausoleums and temples are nearly all constructed on the same stereotyped immemorial model. Within

* Literally, 'Fresh upon fresh, and new upon new,' the cumulative meaning of which I have endeavoured in this and the concluding line of each stanza, to render by expression more suited to the context in an English version.

are seen the tombs of the saint, his lady, Bîbî Rae, and a jin or evil spirit, who fell, like Sâtan before the Archangel, at the spiritual onset of Sakhi Sarwar, and who now lies side by side with him in peace and reconciliation. The walls within are black and smeared with oil. They are hung with small pillows of different degrees of ornamentation, offered by the pilgrims in pious gratitude to the saint, for the success of his divine mediation in the case of their maladies, their temporal wants, or their failure of offspring.

Besides pillows, other offerings are frequently made. Persons who suffer from ophthalmia, frequently vow gold or silver eyes to the saint for their recovery. The hair of an expected child is vowed to be shaven at a certain time at the temple, and its weight in gold or silver given to Sarwar. Some childless parents vow him their first child, and on its birth take it to the temple with a cord around its neck. The mujâwirs, while complimenting the parents on their self-abnegation, decline the offering in which are centered so many hopes and affections, and are prevailed on to accept a suitable pecuniary substitute. It is not an uncommon thing for pilgrims to affix covenants to the doorposts of the temple, binding themselves to make certain offerings on the attainment of their wishes. It is scarcely necessary for me to observe that oblations of precious metals are turned by the mujâwirs to better account than exhibition in a temple.

Close nestling beneath the eaves of the temple, are occasionally seen, notwithstanding their efforts to conceal themselves from the heat, the pigeons of the shrine. I was told that the greater portion of them had then gone to take up their summer retreat in the hills. From the period of the Pathân régime, the successive governments have allowed two hundred and sixty-eight rupees yearly for the maintenance of these pigeons. The British Government has continued to do the same; but, for the last few years, the villages whose land tax was assigned for the payment of this sum, have proved unproductive, and the customary payment has not been otherwise made.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the shrine are erected several temples, which, like that in which Sakhi Sarwar rests, serve alternately for the prayers of the faithful and the fair-day revels of the dancing girls.

I descended from the temple to the valley below. Here my tent had been pitched with several others, which belonged to natives. In this valley was collected a great crowd of people. Those who desired a swing in the merry-go-round, who wished to witness feats of strength or activity, or meet their friends, here congregated. Taking a cursory glance at the amusements here and at the arrangements made by my servants, I went to see a Biloch horse-

race. This is a very peculiar species of entertainment. It was run by threes, sometimes by pairs, but more generally by single horses, on a sandy course of only about three hundred yards long. Betting being forbidden by the Musalmán religion, there are met here no blacklegs, no gentlemen betting twenty to one against the favourite, so no person's fortune is shattered by pecuniary loss, and the fame of no representatives of noble houses tarnished. The whole performance is merely intended as a thing to be seen, a *tamásha*, a word corresponding in some cases to the Latin *spectaculum*, though more general in its application. Except chiefs and elders, most of the horsemen present raced their animals. Whenever a pair start, the riders very generally join hands, and only part them when one outstrips the other in the race. The horses having run, return to the goal by a circuitous route, and the plaudits of the crowd proclaim the approach of a favourite horse or rider.

The race was attended by all the male elders of the fair. There were no females present, either on account of the great publicity, or the unfeminine character of the entertainment. The cliff on one side formed a sort of amphitheatre from which gazed multitudes of anxious human beings. Their red turbans, black faces, and white costumes, alternating tier over tier, seemed at a distance to clothe the hill side with a living parti-colored raiment. On the other side and towards the plain were drawn up riders and footmen in generally very regular and orderly lines. The ground was kept clear as at a rustic English race-course, except that, instead of punching the heads of intruders or ungently applying a cane to the leanness of their shins, the self-appointed Steward of the Biloch race-course scatters sand in their eyes.

I saw some very fair horses run. They are generally not what we should consider large, but are very swift and enduring. Such races are usual at public gatherings among the Bilochis. I have been told that sometimes as many as twenty horses run, competing for a prize in money or fat-tailed sheep offered by some chief. These races have done much to improve the breed of horses among the Bilochis, and to produce activity and manliness in the people. The races ended on the approach of evening and the crowd dispersed in different directions.

I was invited to see a *nách* after dinner. It has been the fashion to decry such entertainments. Persons who would in England have no hesitation in seeing the ballet, often become nervously particular in the East, and find no term too strong for their condemnation of *náches*. Besides this, we are as a people somewhat irreceptive of new customs. The *nách* being a very different species of dance from that to which we are accustomed, does not readily recommend itself to us. The music, too, appears

strange and monotonous. But most tastes are acquired. Olives are not peculiarly grateful to the palate at first, nor are the fumes of tobacco by any means delightful to the novice. Natives can sit for hours and enjoy their dancing and music. That strut of the dancers, that haste of tip-toe-and-heel-retiring, that multitudinous gathering of the feet armed with anklets and bells, that quick burst from the players, the many tones and modulations of their instruments, with the flourish of drums and timbrels, all conspire to afford indescribable pleasure to the practised attendant at such entertainments. The performer at intervals seats herself on the carpet, and fans herself with the skirt of her dress. Thus reinforced, she commences again with an extemporized song in praise of some one of her auditors. She corresponds in some respects with the Greek *hetaira* of the age of Pericles, and is almost the only free or educated female of the East. After the master of the house has made his obeisance to the retiring guest, she makes hers with the easy *aplomb* of a Western lady. Her dress is more gaudy than that of an English ballet-dancer, but infinitely more decent. She is clothed in folds of silk, and scaly tinsel overcrowds her upper garments. Her dancing, besides being of a different fashion, is much more chaste than that of a French or English *danseuse*, and her songs never equal in grossness those heard in some of the most fashionable theatres of Europe.

Early next morning I went to visit the places of interest in the vicinity of Sakhi Sarwar. I first went through the defile previously mentioned. At a short distance from its entrance, a cliff some eighty feet over the base of the defile was brought to my notice. It is called *chor-i-táp* or the Robber's Leap. It is said that once on a time a robber, being hotly pursued, leaped over the cliff; when about to take the spring, he turned his eyes towards Sakhi Sarwar's tomb, and promised a sacrifice of a sable heifer, if the saint interposed for his physical safety. The saint heard his words, prayed to Heaven in his behalf, and the intercession of the favourite of God was successful. The thief fell unscathed, and, notwithstanding his profession, cheated not the saint of the stipulated reward. The saint, in his turn, conferred everlasting salvation on the thief for the excellence of his memory and the fatness of his oblation. No alms were collected here.

I went along the deep winding defile, at first enclosed with cliffs formed of encrusted gravelly layers, then hung with beetling rocks uneasily resting in fantastic positions. Having gone some distance, a very small cave was pointed out to me. I looked in and was saluted by a *mujáwir* who had just commenced telling his beads on hearing human footsteps. He showed on the rocky cave the finger marks of Ali Murtaza, the son-in law of the prophet of Mecca. Ali Murtaza in his wanderings is said to have taken

shelter in the cave, and once when the unappreciative mountain overhead threatened to fall on him, he, in the gentlest manner, put his left hand to the roof, and sustained the prodigious pile of superincumbent rocks. The print of his palm remained, and the mountain has since continued unshaken. Originally, the alleged finger marks were, probably, the reverse impression of the fossil remains of a claw or leaf resting on the subjacent rock which had filled the space of the present cave. This impression was artificially increased, and the work of the sculptor was concealed by black paint and oil. Of course, Ali Murtaza never visited the locality. The mujawir on duty here requests alms from pilgrims. The name of the place is "Chom" which in the Biloch language means the five fingers.

Further on was pointed out the print of Ali Murtaza's left foot on a high slanting ledge of rock, overhung by a stony canopy which meets it at a sharp angle. At a few feet from the apex, on a spot on which no mortal would have planted his steps unless he wished to knock out his brains, the son-in-law of Muhammad left the mark of his heavy foot. It is sunk about three inches in the rock, and has evidently been artificially scooped out. Its small superficial dimensions are ludicrously disproportionate to its depth; but in everything relating to superstition, there is nothing so easy as the deception of the people. I asked the attendant alms-receiving mujawir where the mark of the right foot was, and he replied that it had not been found, so I concluded that the famed Arabian pilgrim had, in his peregrinations, lost the leg in question, or, at least, limped very seriously in his gait. This place is called the *Moza*.

Onward the defile is in some places very grand. Its prodigious rocks, its pebbly beds and its far-extending peaks, reminded me very forcibly of some shores and ocean-creeks in the West near which I spent the happiest days of my existence.

On my return still early in the morning to Sakhi Sarwar, I met crowds of Hindus going to offer their adorations at the Chom and the Moza. I was told that all the Hindus, male and female—about half the present visitors of Sakhi Sarwar—went on this errand. It was pleasant to see so many Eastern females together in their holiday dresses. Their mantles were of every colour. Some bore their young children, also gaily dressed, sitting astride on their hips. A crowd of females generally walked together, following their husbands, in Cressa's style, *hand passibus æquis*. Eastern females of respectability are, as is well known, taught to veil their faces and not look direct on the face of a stranger, particularly on that of a European. It is wonderful how this injunction is obeyed, and how completely even female curiosity is rendered subservient to conjugal duty or affection. Now and then, however,

a glance at fair features, half covered or half averted, could be obtained. The full face looked generally demure, but when the mouth or only the lower part of the face was concealed, the twinkle of the eye disclosed the healthy play of natural feelings. Some of the females were very pretty, even wearing a flush upon their cheeks; but the majority, though very fair for Orientals, were sallow and delicate looking.

At little pools of dirty water in the vicinity of the consecrated places, several male Hindus performed their devotional ablutions.

There is something at once beautiful and touching in the child-like simplicity of the Hindu's devotion. His reverence for what appears to himself good and for the hallowed of others, and his desire to propitiate evil, are the great religious elements in his nature; and *dastūr*, or usage, is the great master of ceremonies. The poor Hindu has been left in a far more unsatisfactory state by the inventors of his religion, than has perhaps the follower of any other creed. He has been set adrift on a sea of speculation. The multiplicity of his gods puzzles him. He is ready to worship the great attributes of nature as well as the animate or inanimate benefactors of mankind, and bow at any shrine that has custom, antiquity, or superstition, to recommend it. His adoration is bestowed on the *lingam*, the symbol of reproduction, the sun that gives light and vivifying power, the cow that gives milk, the stream whose slime and waters fertilise a province. The Hindu has begun to observe the English Sabbath, has, as stated, long since visited Musalmán places of pilgrimage and would even worship a Christian whose character or extravagant deeds inspired terror, as actually happened in the case of John Nicholson on this border. This is on the same principle as the propitiation and worship of Shiva, the destructive element in nature. Other peoples have made the god of a rival religion the evil spirit of their own. The serpent gods of the earlier world became the demons of the Hebrews; the gods of the Vedas have been made the demons of the Persians; and the gods of the Egyptians, the demons of the Greeks. The Hindu would seem inclined to reverse the rule, and make the demon of a rival religion the good spirit of his own. It is not improbable that in Hindustan our own Satan may yet be the deity whose altars will exhale the best perfumes and be crowned with the choicest garlands.

I returned to Sakhi Sarwar, and ascended the hill on which are said to repose the mortal remains of the Sák Saháb or four companions of the saint. The term is, I was told, a corruption of Shaikh Asháb. Sakhi Sarwar is allowed four of these gentlemen or spiritual aides-de-camp to correspond with the four friends (*Char yárin*) of the prophet. The uniformity is perfectly imposing and charming. Although the house of Muhammad and Co. is older yet

the house of Sakhi Sarwar and Co. contains the same number of partners and entertains a similar establishment. Two of the companions of the saint lie beneath a plastered sepulchre on one mound. Here a mujawir sits and collects alms. The remaining two companions are said to have been buried in an adjacent mound, on which some pebbles, a few very stunted brambles, and a crow, did duty, at the time of my visit, for the holy departed. The mujawir complained to me that the pilgrims had not enough devotion to contribute a sum sufficient to raise a monument over them. Shame on you! Redouble your offerings, ye faithful.

On my return to camp from these mounds I stood to look at wrestling matches. The wrestlers merely wore a sincture round the loins. In this costume they leaped into the ring, and after a due amount of swaggering and smacking the muscles of their shoulders with their palms, shook hands, like their brethren in England, before engaging. The victory at an Indian wrestling match is not gained by simply throwing the adversary, but by measuring his full back on the ground. The turns and points are, consequently, very numerous. Sometimes the favourite wrestler props himself on all fours, and sometimes appears in even a more precarious position, until by a quick bound he gains his feet, or by a dexterous sleight, flings his antagonist to the arena. Several of the matches were drawn, the apparent object of the wrestlers being merely to afford a spectacle to the visitors at the fair. To me the most amusing part was the interlude, in which a fakir of about forty years of age treated the spectators to a comic entertainment. It was the part of Achilles performed by Thersites. The fakir stepped in athletic fashion into the ring, smacked his shoulders, and, imitating all the antics of the wrestlers, imitated also their falls and escapes. He was a small, very slender man, and his ludicrous unlikeness to a wrestler made the effect of his buffoonery still more diverting.

After breakfast in my camp, my attention was attracted to a neighbouring enclosure, the temporary abode of a fakir. He continued to repeat in a very audible voice "*Khair! Khair!*" Blessings on you! or, more literally, in Latin, *bene sit!* The old man was dressed in the way I have described his fellow devotees at the Tala. Several from the crowd approach to touch his feet. He smiles benignly on all, but how deferential he is to the man who has the appearance of wealth, wearing golden bracelets, massive turban, and snow-white garments! How warm the fakir's embrace, and how earnest his prayers that the blessings of Sarwar may attend the worthy man.

Sacrisanand divinitum

Mujawir

Khair! Khair! The old fakir sits down and smokes his *haka*.

A middle-aged female who, by her dress and appearance, seems to have mixed freely in the fashionable world, approaches and has a confidential conversation with him. He shakes his head and seems to give grave evidence. The female attentively listens, and, at the end of the colloquy, shampoo the limbs of her spiritual director, as he reclines at full length upon the ground, overcome by shouting and sunshine.

As I strided again into the fair, I observed a number of females carrying skins of water or bundles of hay on their heads, and chaffering and chattering in the strange Kitriki dialect. They were clothed in long chemise-shaped garments and pantaloons, and some looked particularly fair and interesting. I was told it was the custom of the males of Katran tribe, to which they belonged, to oblige their wives to do servile labour while they themselves sat idly at home, plundered their neighbours, or conducted defensive warfare. Hard as is the life, and small the gain of these poor females, I was assured that whoever entered beneath their roofs, would be astounded at their hospitality, that virtue which the Bilochis have so singularly preserved through every vicissitude of their strange history. I began to bargain for a skin of water with an old woman, to whom I succeeded in making myself intelligible in the Biloch language. The sum she asked corresponds to one or two pence of English money. I took occasion to enquire about her family; she said her husband was very old, and that, except the daughter who accompanied her, she had now no child. She loved her daughter too well ever to allow her to marry, and as, while I spoke to the mamma, the young lady herself kept at a respectful distance, I had no opportunity of learning her wishes on the subject. The old woman, with a business-like haste, wished to clinch the bargain for the skin of water. I assured her that I had no matrimonial intentions, and gave her a rupee, telling her that I merely sought the pleasure of her conversation, not the skin of water. Upon this she became overjoyed and eloquent. She said she had never before met a European, confessed that she feared me at first, and never till now believed that the race of Feringhis partook of humanity. She hinted that if I put on a turban, adopted the Biloch costume, and employed a barber to trim my beard in a more orthodox style, I should not be very different from any ordinary mortal. In short, that by relinquishing the uncivilised life I had hitherto led among Europeans, I may by proper assiduity some day gain distinction in the mountains as a robber and freebooter.

I observed at a little distance another group of hill women. They had no goods for sale and seemed to be of a superior condition. One girl of about fourteen I remarked as particularly pretty.

She wore a silk jacket of pale red and neat pantalettes to correspond. A profusion of white beads depended from her neck over her arching bosom, and her hair was very skilfully plaited. Her complexion was very fair, and her features of pure Caucasian type. Over her face was spread the glow of health produced by bracing air and exercise on her native hills. Though so young, poor creature! her story was a sad one. Two years before she had married unhappily. There was a want of congeniality between her husband and herself. He asserted his divine right, as enunciated in the Muhammadan sacred writings, to chastise the youthful partner of his sorrows. She had not sufficient faith to submit to the unpleasant ceremony, however hallowed by custom or spiritual precept; and with true female determination, fled from the hills to abide in our territory and lead a life of widowhood.

*Heu ! Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
Te Deus ?*

I listened to an aminated conversation between some hillmen and an orderly who accompanied me. The latter introduced himself as a Biloch. "You a Biloch? No! No one is a Biloch who does not understand the Biloch language." The rebuff was received with deprecating mildness. The orderly, in the course of the colloquy, said that he did not consider the views of right and wrong possessed by the hillman quite orthodox, and was endeavouring to instil into his mind the great principles of morality (the scoundrel, by-the-bye, would cheat me in every way he possibly could, and only pleaded the cause of honesty as I was present). One of the Bilochis replied that my mental drew distinctions too subtle to be observed, maintained that hunger was of all sins the deadliest, and that taking some of their superabundance from the rich was a very venial offence indeed. The orderly threatened the members of his tribe, if they acted up to these principles, with the vengeance of the British Government, when the hill fellow retorted by casting up to him the British reverses in the Umbeyla campaign, where they fought against hill tribes not more brave than the Bilochis. I did not like the turn things had taken, and put an end to the discussion by calling for a Biloch minstrel to sing us some of his songs. There arrived an aged man with hair flowing down his shoulders, the custom of the Bilochis. He held a species of guitar called a *dambūrā*, with which he accompanied himself while he sang the Biloch ballad which celebrates the capture of Delhi in the reign of King Humáyūn, by a Biloch army under the conduct of Mir Chakar, the great legendary hero of the Bilochis. The air was soft, and it seemed as if, as was said of Celtic music, some melancholy notes had intruded into its liveliest strains.* The

* Moore's preface to "Irish Melodies."

singer sang with great feeling, and his eyes glistened as he infused additional pathos into his voice at some of the most touching passages of the lay. The following is a free translation of this ballad so famous through Bilochistan. It is necessary to state that the event commemorated is, I believe, otherwise unauthenticated :

THE BILOCH CONQUEST OF DELHI.

Within Bilochistan's domains reigned peace and soft repose,
The valleys smiled with plenteous crops, dispell'd were foreign foes ;
Nahâr and Gangan, gallant chiefs, stout two-sword-wielding* braves,
Go boldly forth from the Dodais for fame or noble graves.
And on their bounding Arab steeds, there joined the caravan
Full many a youthful warrior and practised veteran,
And many a noble Amazon fresh budding in her pride,
And many a hardy war-sprung child close nestling by her side,
And many a camel towering with movement smooth and fleet,
Proud of its gay caparison and tinkling bells so sweet.
And with that host there went the chiefs renown'd in many a lay,
Mir Châkar and Mir Shâhak brave, Biloch land's pride alway ;
And through the hill, and through the waste, and through the endless plain
Unknowing check or sad reverse that army sped amain !
For Delhi, the rich capital of Mughul power, was then
Teeming with riches, gold, and gems in hands of listless men ;
And pow'r and diadem enjoyed the ill-starr'd Humayun,
Now worthy royal potentate, now Destiny's buffoon !
And ever hath it been the rule among Bilochis bold,
To strip the haughty of his pow'r, the craven of his gold,
And now upon the widespread plain before the royal town,
Behold the Delhi host ! such a sight has never yet been known !
'Twas when the sun from o'er the hills had raised his glittering shield,
And heaven sapphire-hued pour'd down its radiance on the field.
From out the royal city came in seeming endless line,
Humayûn's dazzling countless host high charged with madd'ning wine !
So thickly ranged the combatants, the weary winged kind
Save on the spears and lances tall no resting-places could find. *
And countless standards flaunted gay, and ensigns waved on high,
And countless shouts re-echo'd loud from forth the vaulted sky !

And there the Rinds' descendants see, scarce twenty thousand strong,
But brave and matchless were their arms the deadly fight among.
Their belts of choicest leather wrought, with choicest silk were bound ;
And on their shoulders bright green † swords diffused dismay around !
On chestnut chargers mounted were the chiefs and leaders all ;
Ten thousand camel drivers were obedient to our call.
And loud the drums were sounding for the battle and the fray,
And many a brave Bilochi vow'd to do or die that day !
And fierce each glanced on Delhi's host with eyeballs all on fire,
And fierce each twirl'd his proud moustache—such foe may none desire !
O mighty chiefs and leaders, we, like ours none boast their fame,
And future bards shall through the world our glorious might proclaim !

* Among some of the Biloch tribes, warriors fight with a sword in each hand.

† The Bilochis dye their swords green.

But see the royal squadrons charge and dust obscures the sky,
 Biloch-land's heroes form their lines and bide their destiny,
 Mir Chákár and Mir Sháhak brave take council for the fight,
 And by well-chosen words their host to glorious deeds incite :
 " Remember Sivi and those seats whence you kind warriors came,
 " And for Bilochistan's proud sons preserve untainted name !
 " Erewhile with Cabul's soldiery you measured your long spears ;
 " They fell—you stood—fight bravely now—a weaker foe appears.
 Domestic ties, too, circle us, our children here and wives—
 Our bravery alone can save their honor and their lives"

Like milk and water blending fast, both hosts the combat join,
 And in an instant noble youths in death's dread throes recline,
 Each moment sped the parting souls, each moment blood streams flow'd,
 Both hosts contended valiantly and highest valour show'd.
 Bilochis fell right gallantly in thickest of the fray,
 But ah ! by numbers overpow'r'd, their ranks were giving way.
 Alighted from her palfrey swift great Shihak's daughter fair,
 She with the large and lustrous eyes and raven braided hair,
 Adorn'd with beauty's matchless light, her charms the gaze strike,
 A peri come from Heav'n she is, ah, marvellously like !
 She falls upon her tender knees before the flying crowd—
 " By Allah and his Prophet pure ! " expostulates aloud,
 " Restrain your flight, for shame ! be men and heed your holy vows,
 " Be ne'er it said Bilochland's sons retreat from mortal foes.
 " If foiled and bloodless from the strife your homeward steps you trace,
 " No true Bilochi maid or wife shall yield to your embrace !
 " I here will stay—let traitors flee—I spurn existence vile ;
 " But fear you not my living form shall graceless act defile !"
 In angry accents spoke these words great Shihak's daughter fair,
 She with the large and lustrous eyes and raven braided hair ;
 The soldiers gazed upon her form, thought Heav'n had interfered,
 Restrained their flight, caught up their spears, and loud and wild they cheer'd.
 Like mighty wrestlers every Rind advanced into the fight,
 But one there was beyond all else conspicuous in his might.
 His name be known, Bázláni bold, let fame await him still,
 Beneath his arms the foe was crush'd, like barley in a mill !

Against such might and firm resolve what numbers could avail ?
 How stem the tide's resistless flow, how stop the sweeping gale ?
 The Mughul soldiers vex'd by fate and seeing fell defeat,
 To their soft couches and their homes desparingly retreat.
 Bilochland's sons the fugitives pursue with speed, and seize
 Upon proud Delhi's tow'ring fort with thousand treasures.
 For twice four watches there they sought repose from noble deeds
 For wounded stricken warriors and broken hoofed steeds.

It was a royal battle fought between two armies brave ;
 But highest valour nought availed from mortal lot to save.
 And chiefly death and glory while the fight was fiercest fought,
 Of far Faridistan's fair glens Milah's warriors sought.
 These fell as heroes, yet for grief did tender women tear
 Their beauteous armlets, bracelets off, and saddest livery wear.
 Full seventy thousand Delhi men lay on the gory field,
 Who 'll never more see wife or child or spear in battle wield ;
 But of the heroes true and brave who bind their country boast,
 Full more than half return'd safe from forth that splendid host.

To Him the sole unpartner'd God our humble voice we raise,
And lay before His dazzling throne the homage of our praise !
He granted us courageous strength the foeman to subdue ;
Proud Delhi with its forts and tow'rs we victors overthrew.
And now before our prince or king no fear to us remains,
Amirs, we saw our matchless might on Delhi's corse-strewn plains.
Stout-hearted were our enemies—to them their glory be—
But stouter far and braver far full many times were we.
The praises of our peerless sons through every land resound,
Upon the foeman's plated breasts we made our chargers bound,
Mir Chákar, gallant chief, was best and bravest in the fight,
Come now, to crown our bliss, let's drain the wine cup of delight !

After the singer had rested, I asked him for another song. He commenced again to sing a ballad commemorating warlike deeds and a victory of his tribe. I had heard it before, and requested him to give us a love song. At first he denied that he knew any. He feared I should be offended at hearing any such levity or possible impropriety. In this age the opinion seems to be gaining ground among the natives of the country, that an European civil official is a strange being, who spends the principal part of his time writing dockets and reports, who periodically imposes Income tax, acquits native criminals, decides in a no very satisfactory manner shopkeepers' suits, exercises undue interference with the affairs of the people, and suppresses every pleasurable and innocent emotion ! The following is almost a literal translation of the song, at the moral tone of which it was thought the feelings of an Englishman would revolt :

THE SONG OF MIRAN.

I.

Lend your ears, my kinsmen gay,
And ye friends I love so dear,—
Dear as kin the heart can sway—
All who've felt a love sincere,
Hear, O hear my gladsome lay !

II.

'Tis a page I thus present
From the volume of my heart ;
Rubies rich, but shapeless sent,
Fashioning I've strained my art,
For a glitt'ring ornament.

III.

Yester e'en with these glad eyes
Her who stole my heart I saw ;
Chieftain-like in stately guise,
She inspired admiring awe :
Her fair brow the moon outvies.

IV.

Lovely eyes and glances bright,
 Snake-like ringlets clustering o'er ;
 Teeth like Miru's snow-flake white ;
 Features each fair fruit or flow'r ;
 She a garden of delight !

V.

Coquetry to her is dear,
 Me she rarely smiles upon ;
 Dread her mazy curls appear,
 Ah ! my early strength is gone !
 Much my final fate I fear.

VI.

Surma crowns her eyes' bright ray,
 Graceful to my ravish'd sight
 Twines her tresses' wanton play :
 Now, alas ! my life's fond light,
 Darling maid, is far away !

VII.

Still to me thine ear incline,
 So arrest impending fate ;
 Thou whose life with this I twine,
 Would'st then know thy lover's fate :
 Myriad joys would thus be mine !

VIII.

All alone in sweet retreat
 With my lady fair, bedight ;
 Robes with ev'ry grace replete,
 Arms adorn'd with bracclets bright,
 Heart to heart will answer ring beat.

IX.

Were she not, void were my days ;
 With her now for me there are
 Interviews and sweet delays :
 None else knew her beauty rare ;
 Fire that sparkles is its praise.

X.

My good steed with trappings proud
 Near her bow'r my slaves control ;
 She and I—one soul endow'd—
 Link'd together heart and soul,
 Shun the idle babbling crowd.

XI.

Pillars tall and castles strong
 Crumble down beneath Death's stride ;
 But this castle, Miran's song,
 Firm as mountain will abide,
 Fame's proud triumph to prolong !

With reference to the sentiments contained in the last stanza and my rendering of the lay, I must do Miran and myself the justice to state that, however more enduring than brass, or proof against the wrath, of Jove the monument may be, and in how-ever pure Bilochi the song may be sung in the cities of Bilochistan, the version of it that reached me was deformed by verbal errors, repetitions, and absurd transpositions, and seemed as little likely to obtain immortality as my translation of it.

I witnessed a peculiar sort of athletic game called, in the Biloch language, *biláro*. Two men are prepared as if for wrestling. The game consists in one striking the other with the palm of his hand on the breast. The man so struck endeavours to clench the hand by a quick folding of his arms. When the hand is clenched, the object is to swing or trip the striker, while he also struggles to throw his opponent.

The merry-go-rounds revolve the livelong day, but assume a more determined appearance of business on the approach of evening. But it is after night-fall they are in full swing. Then is the time for the unveiling of soft faces, or for flirtations that shun the fixed gaze of the multitude; then the youthful Hindu mother, surrounded by her numerous olive branches, enjoys the revolutions with childish joy; then ascend the same compartment of the merry-go-round the lover and his sweet-heart; then may be seen revolve together in innocent play the *promessi sposi* still children, but already prematurely stricken by the flower-tipped shafts of Kamdeo*

"Now we cut through the wind, up and down in our flight;
My soul it drinks wine, and is wild with delight.
My heart's crimson current rolls only for thee,
Then be thou compassionate, sweet one, to me!"†

The females who have by day performed in the temple for the benefit of the Mujawirs, now perform by torch light in the Nai on their own account. Every *nâch*-girl has her own group around her, as a ballet dancer has at her separate stall in a theatrical bazaar. The rich visitors and those ambitious of sight-seeing are mounted on dromedaries to overlook the crowd and more clearly observe the evolutions of the dancers. Here no fabulous sums are offered for a lock of lady's hair; the dancing-girl takes no gratuitous fancy to one's rings or ornaments; but pice and the admiration of the crowd are freely bestowed on her. It is scarcely necessary to

* The Indian Cupid.

† Atkinson's "Manners and Customs of the Women of Persia." Mr. Atkinson was a Surgeon in the H. B. E. Co's service. He translated from the Persian several poetical works which are, I fear, now little read. Perhaps one of his most lasting services to literature is to have introduced the Poet Moore to Lord Moira and London literary society.

observe, that the size of the group is always in proportion to the beauty and decorations of the performer.

I went into the town to see its appearance by lamp light. The street seemed more densely crowded than during the day time. The brightly lit shops display fancy wares exposed for sale—tinsel for female dresses, miniature mirrors, pyjama or waist strings of every pattern, rattles to please, not always children, but often the grown-up females of zenanas, feverish looking piles of sweetmeats sallow as their consumers, and many other things which I could not enumerate. Here the brawny Biloch is seen endeavouring to lift a heavy weight; there the baniya or Hindu petty dealer, resembling in features the European Jew, but infinitely more stony-hearted, driving a hard bargain with some customer, or seated over heaps of cowries contemplating the ponderous gain. But I shall not dwell on these little matters. The great sight of Sakhi Sarwar remains to be described.

I was accompanied by some Musalmáns who conducted me into the quadrangle within the precincts of the shrine. There what do I behold? Within a *cordon* of Mujawirs and musicians knelt several females who continued swaying their bodies and waving their heads from left to right to the sound of drums. The heads and faces of some were covered; the long hair of the others streamed wildly over their persons, while their features looked weird and impassioned, and, to borrow an expression from the Bard of the Passions, "Each strained ball of sight seemed bursting from the head." They seemed like ancient Bacchantes or Sibyls in their phrenzy. I looked on for a time, but it soon became painful to me to see some of the wretched females, who had been for hours swaying their heads and bodies to the tune of the drums, sink back, some into the arms of their own female attendants, while others reclined on the Mujawirs and musicians for a brief respite from their maniacal exercise. Meanwhile at the outer vestibule the fitful strokes upon the gong preserved the memory of the saint. I was informed it was a ceremony for the exorcism of jins or evil spirits, by whom the females I saw before me had become possessed and excited. I enquired if it were accompanied by prayers, and was told the mujawirs were reading prayers in secret.

It is only in modern Christian countries we can recognize the truth of the well-known lines of Schiller—

Die alten Fabelwesen sind nicht mehr

Das reizende Geschlecht ist ausgewandert.

As, genii, or supernatural spirits, transformed into demons by the early Christian religion, are enumerated among created beings in the religion of the prophet, a tribute to the superstitious element of human nature, and in the East still survive in the faith of reason.

The solitary mountain, the sandy plain, the deep morass, the grove of palms, the far extending jungle, have all supernatural tenants of their own, under whose influence or fascination the most virtuous female may succumb. The Hindu, with his usual credulity, believes in jins. I ventured before some natives to doubt their existence in England. The apparent anomaly was accounted for by telling me that they were afraid of Feringhis, meaning us Englishmen. As the neigh of the horse of Richard of England terrified an infidel, so doth the voice of an Englishman a jin. Though I had some doubts as to the seriousness of my informant, I accepted the solution, as it evidently represents the Britisher at his usual post of victory even over supernatural powers. An instance was cited. A place near Dera Gházi Khán was so crowded with jins, that the passers-by became at once possessed. A European officer poured a bottle of brandy on the spot. The libation had the desired effect. The jins vanished through fear of the Feringhi and disgust at the unholy liquid. The language of facts is this; some impure gas had been generated, which affected those who came in contact with it, and the alcohol acted as a disinfectant.

The symptom of jins in females is not epilepsy, as I imagined it was. It may be indigestion, loss of appetite, nervousness, or bodily weakness. These diseases must be common among females perpetually immured; and the fiction of their possession by jins is an easy manner of justifying man's tyranny. How the immaterial tenets of a religion are in time dovetailed with, or employed to support, the social customs of a people! Very frequently the malady is feigned. The female, long caged up in her chamber, has recourse to this mummary, in order to obtain even a few days' release or perhaps an interview with her lover—

Naturam expellas furor, tamen usque recurret,

and the mujawir, in order to serve his own private ends, lends himself to the deception.

It is curious to reflect what devices have been resorted to by the bodily idle and the deceitful to extort money from mankind. The mujawirs who watch the print of Ali's footstep or the mark of his fingers, dun the pilgrims for alms. To extort them increased reverence for the place is exacted. The mujawirs rebuke the fellow believer who approaches the relics of his saint with shodden feet. The homage that Moses paid the burning bush is rigidly enforced, and the future punishment of the infidel openly threatened for disobedience. The belief in jins is, as above stated, perfectly orthodox; and a man of not less than the average amount of faith cannot prevent his wife from taking a course which is but the consequence of things in his own belief. The female's

health, nay, perhaps, her salvation, is at stake, and the mediation of a saint and devotions at his shrine are the only potent remedies.

After a few hours of the strange bodily motion above described, the exorcising mujawir, standing before the female, commences in lawyer-like fashion by asking the jin's name and tribe. The jin answers through the mouth of the female. Then the mujawir asks what induced the jin to possess the female. To this query different answers are returned, according to circumstances and the designs of the mujawir and the female. The jin fell in love with her when, with the curiosity of Actæon, he gazed on her unadorned beauty while she bathed, or saw her under a tree exhaling delicious perfume, or when tricked out with every assistance of the *modists* and the jeweller. Or the jin frequently confesses to tormenting the female because she does not return his love, but remains devoted to her husband. This is said in the case of a wife who wishes to separate from her husband, or who fears corporal punishment from him for deficiency of affection or for conjugal disobedience. The jin states that the woman has not for some time visited her religious adviser, and that he has now brought her. The mujawir urges on her invisible master the propriety of departing from her person. The jin is generally accommodating, and promises to leave for a certain consideration. Favors are not granted for nothing in his realm. He demands a recompense of oil, or corn, or wine, or perfume, or a sable, goat, or a goat's head, or a heifer, according to circumstances. The *douceur* given becomes, of course, the perquisite of the mujawir. When this sacred functionary is satisfied, the jin generally promises to depart from the female for a certain time. This is for the advantage of the mujawir or the female. To the mujawir it is a saving clause in his divine charter; and to the female it affords another opportunity, if desired, for a fair-day interview with her lover. The same paragon will then be repeated, if she still suffers, and the mujawirs are properly conciliated. Should the jin, either at the instigation of the female's husband, or for any other reason, refuse to depart, the mujawirs have often recourse to torture. I was told the favorite system in such cases was, to tie the patient's wrists together, so that the palms of the hands may touch; then insert pieces of wood between the fingers opened laterally, and squeeze their tips. The jin at this frequently relents and departs, saying that the female has been sufficiently tortured. I have heard that, in some parts of India, females are sometimes beaten, but this particular mode of treatment is not patronised by the Sakhi Sarwar practitioners.

I retired to rest in my camp on the Nal amid the sound of

songs, the noise of drums, the music of citar and sainda, and the buzz of surrounding natives.

Next day the fair was over, and the crowd departed in a long, narrow, straggling train. I rested at Vadór where the amusements of the fair were continued. There I saw men dance in front of the temple. There were a few singing men in the centre performing numerous movements of feet and hands. The other performers danced around in a circle, advancing and retiring at intervals. They lifted up and lowered their arms, and made a peculiar uncouth sound with their lips. A few had in lieu of the bones, dear to Æthiopian serenaders pieces of timber hinged and furnished with bells on the outside. These instruments were played by opening and closing accompanied with vibrations. Dances are, in reality, forbidden at mosques, but the fact that they attract crowds who enrich the priests by their offerings is a justification for the little irregularity.

At this town I saw a performance by female acrobats, (*perni*) those weavers of enjoyment who, like the European gypsies, enjoy in blissful vicissitude all the adventurous charms of nature. They tumbled, but not somersaulted, and performed difficult feats with swords. The youngest, Pitási, a girl of sixteen, who was particularly graceful and fair proportioned, lay on the points of swords whose hilts had been planted in the earth. She then covered herself with a red transparent scarf, and became motionless. She professed herself ready to remain in that position so long as it pleased the giver of the entertainment. The Súli, or stake feat, was next performed. A performer reclined, face upwards, supporting herself by her head, hands, and heels. The points of swords were then applied in all imaginable positions to her head, neck, and breast. Keeping her head and hands in the original position, she moved her feet over her head and round the dangerous armoury. Many other feats of difficulty were performed. During the performance a *nirási* continued beating a drum, and, at intervals, in the fashion of the European clown, enlivened the spectators by conversation with the acrobats containing personal, political, and religious satire*.

* In Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, the only work of the kind at present accessible to me, I find a representation of the Pyrrhic dance. It appears to be exactly the same as what I witnessed at Vadór. I will not venture to say that the Greek word *wpyppix* has any connection with the Hindi *perni*, though the likeness of name and the dance may be rather somewhat remarkable; but I will say that the Patháns have a martial dance which they at present call *bán-kúra*, and which closely resembles the Korybantian dance of Ancient Greece. Of this, too, the dance performed by the men at the temple seems but a modification. The component words of *bán-kúra* presents, when transposed, a singular similarity to the Greek word. The name and the dance may be relics of Greek occupation.

Regarding the fair, both at Sakhi Sarwar and Vadór, I must remark one circumstance calculated to put to shame such gatherings in Western lands ; that is, the great moral propriety that in every way prevailed. No drunkenness was to be seen ; the chief and the cutpurse enjoyed a holiday from their labours ; and the evil woman suspended her unconsecrated calling. This is the result of the injunctions of the Mujawirs. They fear for the fame of the shrine, and to their teachings an ignorant and unsophisticated people yield a blind and willing obedience. Writers who dilate on Eastern immorality, would, I think, modify their opinions and expressions by a more intimate acquaintance with the people.

While rejoicing at having completed my journey, I feel, on entering my bungalow, an almost countervailing evil sensation, but one for which the Teian Minstrel has given so many admirable prescriptions. The one,

Δος ὕδωρ, βάλ' οἶνον, ὦ παῖ,

has been, perhaps, the most often translated into Hindústani by the European resident in India ; and with this injunction to my servant I complete my tour and my narrative.

M. MACAULIFFE, B.A., B.C.S.

ART. VII.—RITUAL AND RITUALISM—(*Independent Section.*)

- 1.—*Ritualism and Ritual.* By the Right Hon'ble W. E. Gladstone. From the "*Contemporary Review*," for October 1874.
- 2.—*Some Aspects of the Reformation.* By John Gibson Cazenove, M.A., Oxon; Provost of the College, Isle of Cambrae.
- 3.—*The Church of England and the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility.* By A. P. Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin.

IT is a recognised fact that at the present day questions of an ecclesiastical, or even religious, nature occupy a large share of the time and thought of our nation. While the apostles of the simious affluities, of protoplasms, and of primordial atomic globules propound their doctrines to the select audiences of the lecture-room, the whole nation, in Parliament assembled, devotes the greater part of a session to the regulation of its religious concerns. From Primate to Lords; from Lords to Commons; from Commons to Lords; from all these to the Queen—as the final, if not also the original referee—passed on the Bill for the Regulation of our National Public Worship, which is now part of the law of the land. Our ex-Prime Minister (as will be remembered) fought single-handed (or nearly so) against this Bill. The cause, however, for which he struggled was hopeless. No division was taken, and without the record of one dissentient voice, a law was enacted, the object of which, as stated by Mr. Disraeli, is to "put down the Ritualists and the Mass in masquerade."

Mr. Gladstone (it may also be remembered by some) affected during the course of the debate, not to know who the Ritualists were against whom this new Bill was levelled; but the debate seems to have put him in possession of some facts which had previously escaped his observation: for scarcely has the session closed when he places before the public the Essay, whose title is transcribed at the head of this article. What is the object and meaning of that essay? Friend and foe find themselves equally puzzled to find an answer to that question. The fault lies, perhaps, more in the readers than in the writer. The latter must obviously be allowed to pen whatever pleased himself. He was under no obligation to satisfy you or me. Yet one man goes to the essay expecting to find in it one thing, another goes in hopes of finding another thing, and if neither of the things sought is found, the readers unreasonably blame the writer, when they ought to blame themselves.

In reading this essay it must be remembered that Mr. Gladstone has long suffered under a wholly unmerited imputation of "Popery."

A "Papist in disguise" is one of those bugbears which almost chronically oppress the British mind: and for a long time Mr. Gladstone has enjoyed the honour of being regarded as such. A terrible rumour lately prevailed in England that Mr. Gladstone, when on the Continent of Europe, had been seen by some representative Briton "worshipping in a Popish Church as no 'Protestant' would worship in such a place;" he caused the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland; he did not support Father O'Keefe in his troubles with the Cardinal's party; and he stated in Parliament that, though he did not know who the Ritualists were, yet he thought they ought not to be extirpated.

Considering the imputations under which Mr. Gladstone laboured, and the intrinsic value of the greater part of his essay, we are inclined to think that it was written and published mainly for the sake of placing these words before the public:—"if it had been possible [to 'Romanize' the Church and people of England] in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have been impossible when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of '*semper eadem*' a policy of violence and change of faith, when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil royalty and duty at the mercy of another, and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and 'ancient history.'" A recent telegram from England has informed us that Mr. Gladstone, in a pamphlet published by him shortly after the date of his essay, in effect challenged the English Catholics to show how their 'civil royalty and duty' to Her Majesty could be maintained consistently with their faith. Archbishop Manning, we are also told, has lost no time in supplying Mr. Gladstone with the information required. Our object in mentioning this latter literary performance,* of Mr. Gladstone is merely to gain support to our theory that the essay was written chiefly to convince the people of England that, though in times past, their "William" has coquetted with the Scarlet Lady and her nearest friends, yet he never can by any possibility walk into the parlour of that ancient dame, with the intention of remaining there.

As for the other parts of the essay, they do not, it must be confessed, contribute anything to the solution of one of the most difficult problems which ever arose for the consideration of the much-tormented Church of England. We are told that the church was in a state of decadence some forty or fifty years ago, and that Ritualism is an excessive reaction from that decadence; that

Since these words were written have reached India.
 details of this passage of arms

except, perhaps, in the matter of cottage gardens, the English people are wanting in taste, and tend to extremes and materialism—too much stucco on their mansions, too much millinery in their churches. We are also told that tailors in the West-end of London sell a shape of waistcoat which the mystic letters M.B. indicate to be fashionable in Rome, and that dissenting ministers wear the obnoxious garment. "A general augmentation of Ritual (we are told) means more light" than before existed; but in the absence of a "corresponding enhancement of devotion" it does not mean "more love." It is extremely improbable that in these lines Mr. Gladstone refers to the increase of material light, in the form of candles and sanctuary lamps which are said to be commonly used in Ritualistic churches. He must mean that Ritual alone brings, or imparts, light in the sense of spiritual illumination, to the worshipper even though his devotion be not enhanced. It does not bring "love"; but possibly there may be other agents present in the same church who may call forth that sentiment. It is enough at present to learn that Ritual works to the enlightenment of a congregation. Properly, therefore, does Mr. Gladstone recommend caution in introducing Ritual into the congregations of the Church of England. If too great light be suddenly flashed on weak eyes, they may be blinded by it. But it is plain that when a moderate quantity of Ritual has produced a moderate quantity of light,* to exclude more Ritual is to exclude more "light"; and even Mr. Gladstone does not tell us at what point the supply of Ritual, and therefore of "light," should be stopped, nor does he say plainly that he thinks that the enlightenment of those congregations, whose Ritual is most complete, goes beyond what is proper to the humility of man.

Unfortunately, Mr. Gladstone maintains that there must be a "standard of decency." A standard is a visible emblem of unity and of combination among a number of people, who range themselves around it, and adhering to it, think and act in common. Where is this "standard" to be found among our Protestant Churches? Is it not the case that church is divided against church on this very point, nay, are not priests and office-bearers and people of the same congregation frequently seen quarrelling over minute points of "decency" with a virulence which might be reserved for some nobler strife? Who will design the "standard" to which the Church of England will adhere? Who will draw the line between decency and indecency in matters bearing on the service of religion? Mr. Gladstone should have helped us here, but he has failed us. His hints for "extending" Ritual are all based on the previous existence of a "standard of decency" while, as above argued, this "standard" is the most difficult thing of all to secure. When once it is attained, advance or "extension" is comparatively easy. The

six hints and the pretty little lecture on charity with which the essay concludes, are therefore not calculated to be of so great practical utility as they might have proved had the general design, at least, of a standard of decency been sketched. In addition to this inherent weakness, from defect in the foundation, these suggestions seem likely rather to make confusion worse confounded by introducing the principle of *quot homines tot sententice*, as a guiding maxim in settling Ritual. Is a particular matter "legally binding," is the first query which, according to Mr. Gladstone, we must answer. But, then, the fact exists that our highest Constitutional Courts have failed in ten years of litigation to settle what is and what is not "legally binding"; and the Government, by the Bill of last session, has established a court, unknown to the Constitution, and has appointed a Judge with a special Brief which requires him to "put down the Ritualists and the Mass in masquerade." Mr. Gladstone's first hint will, at any rate, be unserviceable until the Judge, who holds this Brief, makes up his mind in what way he can best promote the wishes of his employers. But to be "legally binding" is not enough: "desuetude" must be regarded by both clergy and flock before they introduce the "light" of Ritual into the church. In other words, a congregation which has sat in darkness and (it may be) in the shadow of death, for a sufficiently long time, must continue,—we suppose, for the sake of consistency, Mr. Gladstone's characteristic virtue—to sit in murky darkness, to live like religious bats and owls, even though it may not be "legally binding" on them to love this darkness rather than the light. Or does Mr. Gladstone put in this plea in favour of the honour due to "desuetude," from a lurking liking for that period of "decadence" in the church which he elsewhere vehemently censures? Clearly "desuetude" is born and bred in periods of decadence, and to honour desuetude is to honour decadence.

We cannot follow Mr. Gladstone through his other five or six suggestions in detail, but when we mention that the "*spirit* of the Prayer-book"; the "desires" of particular congregations; adaptation to the "religious and mental condition" of congregations, and similar criteria are put forward as tests of the propriety of Ritual, it will be admitted that the Church of England is as far from peace and unity within itself as it was before Mr. Gladstone spoke.

Believing, as we do, that Mr. Gladstone did not take up his pen with any intention of prescribing for that 'sick-man'—the still established Church of England,—but simply with the object of warning past, present, and future political adherents that he had no intention of following in the wake of his friend the Duke of Ripon, we pass on to the consideration of some points

which the scope of Mr. Gladstone's essay excluded from his pages.

Who, then, are the Ritualists of whose existence Mr. Gladstone knew not last summer, but whom in autumn he seems to know so well, and praises and blames with so much discretion that no one can tell whether he most admires or condemns them?

First of all let it be observed that as a party they are *not* desirous of strictly enforcing the observance of all the rubrics and devotional directions of the standards of their church. Also that as a party they hold all 'church millinery,' ornamentation, special vesture, or posture to be mere accidentals, accessories, at most, to more important matters; as frames to pictures, as the setting to a costly jewel. He who confines his criticism on the Ritualists to their ornamentation, their vesture, and their posture, acts precisely as one would do, who, on visiting a gallery of pictures, began to criticise the frames, ignoring the pictures which the frames enclosed. Nay, we may go further and say that the true Ritualist will be ready to throw to the wind all those external adjuncts of his worship, which critics of one class deem the essentials of the system, rather than lose one jot or tittle of the precious truths which these adjuncts adorn.

The Ritualistic party may be described as that body within the Church of England which aims at interpreting the dogmatic and other standards of that church in such a manner as shall admit of their giving to the English nation, as nearly as possible, the whole of the Christian faith, as that faith stood before the speculations of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, or the Duke of Somerset, had split up Western Christianity into that congeries of conflicting sects which we now find to exist. As a most proper but wholly accidental concomitant of this,—the real work and labour of love of the Ritualists—they endeavour to set forth their doctrines, by practices which have a two-fold object; first, the giving of due honour to that Sacred Presence which they believe to dwell bodily within their temples; and secondly, the instructing of the people, not through their ears only, but through all the 'gateways of knowledge,' remembering especially how

. . . *Senius irritant animum demissa per aurem
Quam quae sint oculis subjecta fidelibus.*

There is, probably, no portion of our English history regarding which students whose reading has extended beyond schoolbook versions, feel less pleasure than the history of our Reformation. Its net results, no doubt, please many persons; but the act by which our separation was completed is, at least in these days, regarded with satisfaction by but few.

To the Ritualists the names of Luther, of Henry VIII and of Queen Elizabeth bring no feelings of pride. For "Reformation," they

would read "Deformation," and the name of "Protestant" they utterly decline. As Bishop Forbes (who, however, is not technically a Ritualist), tells us, "the factitious beauty with which the Reformation has been invested, disappears before closer historical investigation," and the good bishop can find no better justification for the Reformation of (say) 1530, than the Vatican Council of 1870. Provost Cazenove's little book is one full of thought and learning. A large part of it is devoted to showing that the world was not so bad as it has been painted, even in the "dark" and middle ages: that then as now the church was as a city set upon a hill whose light could not be hid; that the learning of those ages and the preservation of the learning of past ages were her peculiar care, and that when the arm of kingly oppression was stretched forth, the voice of the Bishop of Rome was to be heard, warning even royal sinners that a power existed which could check their passions. Referring to some lectures recently delivered at Exeter Hall, Provost Cazenove quietly remarks: "The 'Young Men's Christian Association' seemed delighted to hear of the unredeemed rascality of their forefathers. Be it so. For a time things must thus remain."

The Ritualist are endeavouring to shorten this time. But, however anxious they may be to escape all complicity with the Protestant movements of the sixteenth century, they cannot at once be allowed to deny the Reformation and to remain where they are. Luther is their father, let them ever so much abjure him. Brigham Young is their co-descendant from the common sire, let them ever so much deny him. The Bishop of Brechin tells us that "the charm which Luther exercised told profoundly in unsettling people," at the time of the Reformation in England; and it is well known that many foreign reformers, as Bucer, Martyr, and Calvin were prominent agents in that great change. The Ritualist party in combating its paternity, naturally makes the most it can of the comparative regularity of the proceedings which attended the carrying out of the original separation from Rome. They tell us that it was done by the nation, by the agency chiefly of the bishops and clergy in Convocation assembled. In this statement there is that modicum of truth which is, perhaps, worse than falsehood. The bishops and Convocation, also the Parliament of the Realm, all gave their voices at one stage or other of our most awkward struggles after a reformed religion. But their voices were used only to register royal decrees—and whatever idol the *Darius* for the time being set up, that the great body of our clergy and courtiers humbly worshipped. When the novel doctrine of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king was first broached, it is true that the clergy were able to moderate the harshness of the expression by the introduction of the words

quantum per leges Christi licet;" but of how little practical use this limitation was is best illustrated by the Statute 26 H. viii. c. 13,—the statute regarding high treason under which More and Fisher, together with other less distinguished sufferers, were put to death for denying the royal supremacy. Truly does the Bishop of Brechin write "the usurped jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome "was removed in face (query 'favour') of an equally unscriptural "jurisdiction of the King of England;" and "the Reformation of "the Church of England was in one sense a change in the law of the "land, brought about by the Crown, with the aid of complaisant "bishops, against the wish of the old nobility and the mass of the "clergy, amid the indifference of the common people." Again, he tells us that Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell "desired that "the religion of England should be Catholicism without the Pope." Those who endeavour to establish the regularity and 'Catholicity' of the Anglican Reformation and to ignore Luther, would do well to study a 'note' to be found on page 97 of the first volume of Hallam's History of England, and the authorities there quoted. The matter is of so great importance that we transcribe the greater part of it here: "The doctrines of the English Church were set "forth in 42 Articles drawn up, as is generally believed, by "Cranmer and Ridley, with the advice of Bucar and Martyr and "perhaps of Cox. The three last of these condemning some "novel opinions, were not renewed under Elizabeth, and a few "other variations were made; but upon the whole there is "little difference, and none, perhaps, of those tenets which have "been most the object of discussion. . . . They were "never confirmed by a Convocation or a Parliament, but imposed "by the king's supremacy on all the clergy and on the universities ". . . . A considerable portion of them, including those of chief "importance, is taken almost literally either from the Augsburg "confession or a set of articles agreed upon by some German and "English divines at a conference in 1538." (8vo. Ed., 1872.)

The Bishop of Brechin has told us that the Reformation was carried out amid the "indifference of the common people." But Hallam goes further and on good authority assures us that "German troops were sent for from Calais on account of the bigotry " (for which we may read 'tenacity') with which the bulk of "the nation adhered to the old superstition," i.e., religion. He also tells us that "persecution is the deadly sin of the reformed churches": and writing of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, after giving a gamut of persecutionary measures, the same historian says: "The statutes of Elizabeth's reign comprehend every one "of these progressive degrees of restraint and persecution. And "it is much to be regretted that any writers worthy of respect ". . . should have offered for the odious code the false pretext

"of political necessity. That necessity, I am persuaded, can never be made out." Lastly, for our present quotations, let us take these words, which are also Hallam's; "at the accession of Edward, he (Cranmer) and several other bishops, took out commissions to hold their Sees during pleasure." And once more, in writing of the time of Elizabeth, the same author tell us that "the creed of Parliament from the time of Henry VIII had always been that of the court." The immediate object at present in view is to show how vain and misleading those allegations are which are put forward to the effect that the English Reformation was the work of a nation which had long been yearning for a new religious life, and at last found a pious king and holy bishops to work out its redemption in an orderly manner by which all rupture of "unity" was avoided. We see the real facts to be that an imperious monarch, confounding the things of Cæsar and the things of God, constituted himself high priest of a new religion; that he compelled his bishops and people to acknowledge him as supreme, or suffer execution as criminals. He and his descendants, aided by foreign "reformers," compiled a new creed and forced it on an unwilling people by threat of massacre by foreign troops and by domestic persecution of the cruelest kind. Bishops became slaves of the temporal power, by abandoning their spiritual independence, and accepting employment (for we can call it by no more respectable name) for only so long as they should continue to give satisfaction.

And, if we go back and ask why did England enter upon this work, so troublesome to the king, so degrading to the bishops, so unpalatable to the great bulk of the people, noble and simple, then we are forced to give the plain statement that it all sprang from the unbridled passions of an adulterous king, who could not endure the restraining authority which, until then, the Bishop of Rome exercised in Western Europe, as the final referee in matters of morals. Ignoble origin of an ignoble strife; putrid fountain of a turbid stream; how can the water of life flow from such a source, or in such a channel?

The special origin which our Reformation can thus boast connects it in a remarkable way with its more remote birthplace in Germany. For one of the most prominent characteristics of Luther's teaching is its immorality. It is known that he allowed polygamy, as in the case of the Landgrave of Hesse. He actually deified the vilest passions of man: "*Divinum puta opus quod non est nostrarum virium ut impediatur vel omittatur, sed tam necessarium est ut masculus sim, et magis necessarium quam edere, bibere, purgare, mucum emungere.*" In another place he writes, "*Caste et integre vivere tam non est in manu nostra quam omnia alia miracula Dei*"—thus at once maligning the many saints who

have preserved their chastity yet laid no claim to miraculous powers—and laying the foundation of that less careful cultivation of this virtue among Protestants than what prevails among Catholics. The marriage-bed is not holy in his eyes, and he thus teaches, "*Hic opportunum est ut maritus dicat, si tu nolueris, altera volet; si Domina nolit, adveniat ancilla.*"

With teaching of this kind filling the Protestant pulpits of Germany, and constituting, no doubt, some of the 'charms' of Luther of which the Bishop of Brechin speaks—there is little wonder that we find King Henry breaking away from the old-fashioned morality of the church, murdering wife after wife for the sake of change, and establishing—he and his successors—the English Church by means of subservient bishops, foreign troops and domestic persecution.

We have been at some little pains to establish our position with reference to the origin of our English Church and the means by which it was set agoing, because the Ritualists belong to the church thus originated. They do not like this to be said; but it is true, although, like many other truths, it may be disagreeable; and we must hold, although not animated by any ill-feeling towards the Ritualists, that, will they or nill they, they must be held to their full responsibility for all that flowed, and all that continues to flow, from the ecclesiastical doings of the sixteenth century.

It would carry us far beyond the limits of this article were we to attempt to give even in meagre outline a sketch of all that has flowed from the fountain head of our national church during the three hundred and fifty years of its existence.

Henry VIII. himself changed his views on more than one point during his reign, and the nation, of course, changed with him; the changes and transformation scenes effected by the Duke of Somerset, in the name of King Edward VI., will recur to the minds of many of our readers. Mary's reign may be placed out of consideration with the remark, that of all the sins for which she has to answer, that of violating the principles of her church, and enacting a persecution against the advice of her spiritual guides, will not be the least. In the reign of Elizabeth, notwithstanding constant persecution of the sectarians, the Church of England began to throw off many sects, and these have gone on steadily increasing in number and in strength up to the present time. We are not of those who can understand how a church, founded on a principle of separation and independent judgment, can logically claim the adherence of any individual to the necessarily unauthoritative principles which it from time to time enunciates. Yet the persecution of all sects whatever was long one of the most actively executed duties which the Church of England undertook. But as early as 1572 one Thomas Cartwright reminded the nation that "Civil Magistrates must

"govern the church according to the rules of God prescribed in his word and must remember to submit themselves unto the church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church, yea to lick the dust off the feet of the church." This may be regarded as the prologue of that dark drama, of which the curtain fell at Whitehall on 30th of January 1649, when the king of the realm, and the supreme head of the church, bared his neck to the axe of the executioner at the command of the victorious sectary.

In the meantime—to return to the reign of Queen Elizabeth—the national faith was modelled and remodelled, the conscience of the Queen regulating the religious spirit of that portion of the people which was neither Catholic nor Sectarian. The Queen herself had strong Popish tendencies and indulged in certain "superstitions," which, for some reason or other, she denied to her faithful lieges. Scarcely any doctrine of the new faith was settled; and deliberate resort was had in framing church formularies to ambiguous wording and doubtful construction. So that whatever meaning best pleased the sovereign might be held till the sovereign changed his mind, or gave way to the monarch who was next to fill the throne. The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist was, then as now, in an ever obscure and varying condition. The pure Catholic doctrine was, of course, held during the reign of King Henry, and then the prayers and the rubrics took a form suitable to the current belief. In the time of Edward VI. the Zwinglian doctrine, or something very nearly allied thereto, was the popular one; and therefore a rubric had to be applied to suit the new belief. In Elizabeth's time the national religious weather-cock had veered, and the obnoxious rubric was removed. At the time of the Restoration it was finally restored; but not with any very successful result; for, in our own day, a Ritualist clergyman of Frome has published a book in which he teaches a doctrine, distinguishable only by metaphysical subtlety from the doctrine of Trent, which is the doctrine of the *Church of Rome*. For this apparent aberration from orthodox Protestantism the author of the book alluded to was prosecuted during tedious years of litigation, and the result was that the Constitutional Judges of the land could not say that the author's statements were incorrect representations of the true Church of England teaching on the most important doctrine of Christianity—the centre and pivot upon which all other doctrines turn. If "the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?"

Want of space compels us to refrain from following up in detail the history of other Catholic doctrines as remodelled or rendered amorphous by the Church of England. We have already alluded to the manner in which the reformed national religion was laid

in the dust after a duration of, say, one hundred years, by the victorious arms of those sectaries who would never have existed had not Henry VIII. taken the first step in disuniting England from Christian unity. For a time the religion of these sectaries was the religion of the nation; and when it ceased to be so, we find the curious anomaly of two Popish and one Calvinistic "supreme heads" successively ruling over the restored reformed Church of England. Dogmas, doctrines and ritual had, however, by this time become so obscure that some decisive step had to be taken. The personal power of the king was on the wane; Parliament was rising from the position of a fainéant assembly, to that of the real ruling power in the realm. So that from the time of William and Mary we may say that the king was deposed from his rank as efficient Head of the Church, and his functions were assumed by Parliament. Parliament is, at the present day, the "Supreme Head;" and a handful of Dissenters or Atheists may at any time hold it in their power to settle the doctrine of the national church. The Parliaments of Elizabeth's time were, as we have said, fainéants; and one was required by its vote to remove all doubts as to the validity of the 'orders' of Queen Elizabeth's bishops. In William's time, as before indicated, so many "unpious doctrines" (as the Commons called them in their address to their sovereign) prevailed in England that an Act of Parliament was called for to suppress them. The result was that Parliament decreed three years' imprisonment and numerous civil disabilities against any who should deny the Holy Trinity, the truth of the "Christian religion" (whatever that may be) or the inspiration of the Bible. Nations, however, grow in wisdom, and by the 53 of George III. the doctrine of the Holy Trinity became old-fashioned, so that the respectable support of the English Parliament was withdrawn from it; but as far as the present writer's knowledge extends, the "Christian religion," and the divine authority of "Holy Scripture" may still be accepted by the faithful, on the authority of the British Parliament.

The prosecution of Sacheverill introduces us for the first time to the name of Hoadley, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, whom the new spiritual head, Parliament, recommended to the Queen as a man who deserved a reward. We may mention, however, to show how un-Protestant the great bulk of our people even then was, that while Sacheverill's sermon was burnt by order of the Parliament, Hoadley's dissertations were burnt by order of the people. Hoadley and the school of divines who follow him (as Dr. Balguy, Dr. Sturges and the "Broad School," generally of our own time) occupied themselves in quietly demolishing the whole of the principles and dogmas of the church to which they belonged. The eighteenth century was one characterised by irreligion, and religion itself had to be de-religionised. The success attained was remark-

able. It suggests many questions of which we shall ask only one. Why take so much trouble to build up a church, by military force, persecution, royal edicts, and Parliamentary votes, if, before it is two hundred years old, its own adherents write volume after volume to show that it is all a mistake, and that they cannot tell any more than Pilate could, what is Truth? The scriptural view of the church is that it is that on which Truth rests both as to its foundation and as to the superstructure which supports the cornerstone. It is, says St. Paul, the ground and pillar of Truth. But the English bishops and teachers of the eighteenth century pass over St Paul, carry us back to the point which Pontius Pilate had reached, and leave us there. These assertions, and assertions much stronger, could be made good by many references to the writings of the divines referred to; the only difficulty is to make a selection from the copious material at hand. We shall give what appears to be sufficient. The Church of England had hit upon a tolerable definition of the "church," in which the preaching of the word of God and the due ministration of the sacraments, are the most prominent requirements. Hoadley, *per contra*, defines a church as all persons "who are sincerely and willingly 'subjects of Christ alone.'" Under this definition sound doctrine and 'orders,' as required by the church's Articles, are eliminated by a stroke of the pen. He elsewhere tells us that "real sincerity "in the conduct of the conscience, is sufficient assurance of God's "favour." Thus a sincere Catholic is assured of God's favour when he burns a Protestant, and a sincere Protestant reaches the same happy result when he burns a Catholic. Dr. Hoadley's disciple, Dr. Balguy, considerably improves on his master's conception of a church, eliminating all Christian savour from his ideal. He says a church is a number of persons "agreeing to unite in "public assemblies for the performance of religious duties." It is not clear from this whether persons must actually assemble: a mere agreeing to assemble seems sufficient; but it is quite clear that Dr. Balguy's "Catholicity" extended to the inclusion of our dancing derweshes, and the votaries of Kali. By the year of grace 1795 Protestant England had enjoyed, at least, two hundred and fifty years of Biblical study; it had tried creed after creed; it had persecuted the Papist on the one hand and the Sectary on the other; it had three times, at least, altered the succession to the throne—chiefly in the interests of religion—and notwithstanding all this it was in the year named, so far from having reached any definite form of faith, that a bishop of the church—Bishop Watson—in a charge to his clergy speaking of the Christian doctrine, says, "I think it safer to tell you where they are contained, than what they are. They are contained in "the Bible, and if in reading that book your sentiments, concerning

"the doctrines of Christianity, should be different from those of your neighbours or from those of the church, be persuaded on your part that infallibility pertains as little to you as it does to the church."

Were we right, or were we wrong in saying a few paragraphs back that the Christian religion in England, as by law established, stood in the year 1800, in the precise stage of development which it had reached when Pontius Pilate asked "What is Truth?"

But even while the lights of heaven were thus being darkened; while the cords which feebly held the National Church to its moorings in Christendom were being one by one cut asunder—a struggle had commenced to which the Ritualists as a party owe their origin. James II. had attempted to secure religious toleration to all his subjects,—Catholic and Protestant alike. He failed. William extended toleration to Protestant dissenters, and the advancing "liberalism" of the school of Hoadley naturally rendered active religious persecution impracticable. The Catholic emancipation was mooted as early as the year 1710, and by the time the century was drawing to a close the writings on this subject occupy a prominent place in the history of the times. The phase of the movement with which we have to do, is the dissemination among the people of correct information of what in truth the Catholic religion really is. Writers of the school of Dr. Porteus have placed before us a picture of what that religion is according to the views of the Anglican divines of his day. Dr. Milner of Winchester on the other hand, in his "End of Religious Controversy," placed, or rather desired to place before the public, an exposition of what the Catholic doctrines really are. The re-action which seemed likely to follow on allowing this light to be let in on the nation, was so dreaded by the authorities of the day, that Dr. Milner's work was prevented from appearing for about fifteen years after it was written. When this work was given to the public not only was the Catholic emancipation rendered certain, but, more important still, a knowledge of the religion which had long been lost to all but a few in England was restored; and the debates and general literature bearing both upon the question of emancipation and on the question of the Union of Ireland, contributed their share to the general interest which the nation began to take in things Catholic and primitive. The "Fathers" were exhumed; the histories of the Councils were studied; the early practices and principles of the church were made matters of research; the rapid pace at which England had departed from all that could be considered Catholic was discovered, and with timorous pen the old truths were set forth in the Tracts for the Times by men of learning and piety. To reconcile most of these truths with the wording

of the authorised standards was rarely a difficult task—for, as we have said, ambiguity had been studied in the preparation of these standards—each doctrine wore, as it were, a double face, with one it looked towards Rome, with the other towards any other place. The process of exhuming old truths from the *débris* of conflicting novelties went on for many years. Amusing it was in some aspects, as it would be were the science of mathematics to be lost in England, and some day on a scholar stumbling on a copy of forgotten Euclid, he, from time to time, placed tentative problems before the public, as, for example, that, as far as his researches had yet gone, he inclined to hold that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are probably equal; beneficial it was in all aspects, although, as many of our readers will recollect, the publication of these Tracts raised a storm of invective against their authors; and to be a “Puseyite” was to be little better than a fallen spirit. Of these authors many have long ago sought rest in the mother church; many have fallen asleep; a few remain at present nearly in the advanced guard of searchers for the “hidden treasure”—the lost pieces of silver. Amid the storms of the “Tractarian” disputations we reach the year 1850.

In that year took place the arrival of Rome’s third mission to our island, popularly known as the “Papal Aggression.” With the raging of the people, and the opposition of Parliament, we have nothing to do. We conclude our present subject by merely noting the fact that as the discussions connected with the Catholic emancipation resulted in the nation acquiring a knowledge of the doctrines of the ancient faith, so the establishment of a Catholic hierarchy, and the multiplication of Catholic churches taught our national clergy how to add to Catholic truth the beauties of Catholic ritual.

Thus have we attempted to justify our definition of the Ritualists previously given to the effect that they are that party in the church which desires to extract the fullest body of Catholic truth from our national standards of faith which these standards can possibly yield; and also (as a secondary, highly desirable, but non-essential aim) to present that Catholic truth to the people in such a way that it may enter in at all the gateways of knowledge, and may captivate the senses, while it converts the heart.

In how far has this party succeeded in its aims? What degree of approach has been made by it to the doctrines of Christianity as they stood before they were moulded according as the passions of princes, or the humours of Parliaments required?

If we take Hallam as our guide, we find that the following are the chief differences between the old and the new faiths:—

I.—The use of the Latin tongue in the church services; retained by the old church, and abolished by the new.

II.—The use of images, crosses, altars, incense, tapers, holy-water; retained by the old church, abolished by the new.

III.—Devotion to the saints, especially the Blessed Virgin; belief in purgatory, prayers for the dead (*i.e.*, the blessed departed); retained in the old church, abolished in the new.

IV.—Auricular confession was “never condemned” by the English Church, yet “went without dispute into complete neglect” (Hallam); it has been maintained by the ancient church.

V.—The doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist; which cannot be stated, because unknown and unascertainable, in the Church of England; retained as in ancient times, by the old church, and re-enunciated at Trent.

VI.—Celibacy of the priesthood, enforced by Henry VIII., disapproved by Edward VI.; all but demanded of the clergy by the virgin Queen, optional in the present day. Required as an article of discipline, but not of faith, by the ancient church.

The above is condensed from Hallam, and with reference to it we remark:—

I.—That the Ritualists have made no attempt to introduce the Latin language into the services of the church.

II.—That images, crosses, altars, incense, and tapers, are made free use of in their churches.

III.—That devotion to the saints, especially to the Blessed Virgin, is constantly taught and practised. It may be expected that proof of this should be adduced. Abundance could be given, but the nature of the subject prevents the introduction of anything more than the minimum amount. Thus in a ritualistic manual of devotion in the writer's possession the *Confiteor* begins: “I confess to . . . Blessed Mary and to all saints, &c.” Under the title “Hymns to the Holy Mother of God,” Keble's *Ave Maria* is given; and elsewhere throughout the volume similar devotions are prescribed. As to “purgatory,” the Catholic doctrine goes no further than that “there is a purgatory and that the souls therein “detained are helped by the prayers of the faithful.” (Creed of Pope Pius IV.) The Ritualists, accepting the extended belief that there is a material fire there, teach us thus to say, in a hymn for “All Christian Souls,” *i.e.*, the spirits of the faithful departed;

Let not penal fire consume them

Let not binding fetters chain,

so that it may be said that the Ritualists have re-introduced all the disused practices and doctrines mentioned in Clauses II. and III. in the abstract above given from Hallam. As to Clause IV., Auricular Confession is practised in all Ritualistic churches, and its necessity is taught in the Catechisms of the party. Thus the “Catechism of Theology,” page 68, asks: “Is it likely that persons “who have lived in habitual sin should be able to quiet their own

"consciences without confession?" The answer being, "No... two things are essential to a proper reception of Holy Communion: 1.—Self-examination. 2.—Private confession and absolution for all that 'desire it.' And then follow questions which elicit in reply the same scriptural proofs of the necessity and sacramental efficacy of confession, as are made use of by Catholics. As to the Eucharist, the prosecution of Mr. Bennett of Frome will be fresh in the recollection of all who are interested in this subject, and it proves that the Ritualists teach a doctrine on this point, offensive to a large part of their co-religionists, and so nearly allied to that of Rome that the distinction is not perceptible to ordinary minds. As regards our sixth head, celibacy is practised by nearly all Ritualistic ministers, and in this respect they differ in nothing from those of Rome except that the discipline is optional in London and requisite in Rome.

Thus, then, the party of whom Mr. Gladstone writes as if they dealt only in æsthetics and ornamentation, have, in fact, led their followers back to all the ante-reformation beliefs and practices mentioned by Hallam as 'distinctive,' except the use of the Latin tongue. The use of that tongue is, of course, a matter of convenience, essential for the preservation of a Christianity which shall be absolutely one in Rome, Yokohama, and the Pacific Isles—a oneness which would soon disappear, were the sacred services to be translated into all the inadequate languages of barbarous tribes. The practice has, however, been locally modified in various places, and can never rank among the practical difficulties which stand in the way of union. Ritualists also differ from Rome in another disciplinary point—Rome dispensing the Communion in one kind only, the Ritualist in both kinds: a difference which will admit of easy solution when the question of union comes to be seriously taken in hand. On the question of the authority of the church and the position of the Bible, the two churches may be said to be at one. Provost Cazenove teaches us that the formula: "The Bible and 'the Bible only' is one on which 'no body of Christians really 'acts' 'utterly untenable' 'hopeless and mischievous'" (page 95). The interpretation of the church, aided by the Spirit, is the interpretation which alone the Ritualist professes to accept. The idea of attempting the conversion of a heathen tribe by supplying it with copies of the Bible would no more occur to the mind of a Ritualist than it did to the mind of St. Peter, St. Paul, or St. Augustine. The weak point of the Ritualist is touched, when you ask him what is the Church? He has no answer ready for one who is prepared to cross-examine him, and probe his statements. He treats you to a story about the first four, or sometimes six, councils which he approves, and so far yields his judgment

to the voice of the Church ; but when he comes to the seventh or eight, he drops his Catholic frame of mind, and becoming Protestant at a leap, says : No ! the seventh or eighth council, no doubt, " said so and so, but I, in my superior judgment, say it erred—and therefore it did err—and so the unity of the church (*me judice*) ' was broken, and has not yet been repaired.' Thus, after all, it is to the voice of the church as revised and approved by the individual Ritualist judgment to which that religionist appeals ; and in so doing he proves himself to be in reality very far from that Church, which, on many plausible grounds, he may well claim to have nearly reached. Having thus annihilated the efficiency of the ancient church-system, our Ritualist has absolutely nothing to put in its stead, and naturally so ; for, if the promise " Lo ! I am with you alway even unto the end of the world," has been proved to be false, another and more trustworthy revelation from heaven is required to furnish what the Ritualist needs. He abhors Church and State, ecclesiastical Government by Parliament he cannot away with ; spiritual trials by secular judges are to him sins and shames. He dreams of " Convocation " sometime or other developing into a powerful national Synod ; forgetful that Convocation is itself but a creature of the civil power, and may be at any time sent to sleep for a hundred years by an order of Government, as was the case last century when it raised a feeble protest against the Hoadleyism then in fashion.

Yet, strange to say, our Ritualistic friends fully admit that the primacy of Christendom rests with the Pope ; or, as they prefer to call him, the Bishop, or Patriarch of Rome. They long to place themselves under the protection of the Father of the Faithful. The difficulty lies about the super-primacy, or supremacy, and we should not be materially in error, were we to state, broadly and unreservedly, that it is to the distinction between these two words " primacy " and " supremacy," that the whole dispute between Rome and the Ritualists is now confined. " As far as the primacy is " concerned there need be no disputing " writes one Ritualist, and, again " His (*i.e.*, the Pope's) being first may be conceded ; but that does not " make him supreme."

If we now withdraw our consideration from the details of the Ritualistic system, and state shortly its chief principle, we find that that principle is wholly identical with that held by Rome. The principle is that revelation has made known to us specific means by which grace is conferred, and through life maintained and increased, and that these means are the seven sacraments. Herein Ritualism is wholly irreconcilable with Protestantism, whose modern principle is that grace is somehow born, maintained and increased without any specific means ; or, if by any means, then by the severe mental effort of each individual only. Protest-

antism also holds that though the Ritualistic doctrine of sacerdotalism (as above stated) is that of the Prayer-book, yet this fundamental principle of Christianity (which is, obviously, either true or false for all time) must change as the will of the majority of the numbers of the established church changes. In proof of the fact that such is the view of Protestants, we refer our readers to a curious paragraph on page 21 of the *Pall Mall Budget* for October 16th, beginning: "In a speech recently 'delivered by Lord Coleridge.'" This Protestant principle is obviously destructive of two things, the fixity and finality of the divine revelation; and the authority of the church. It rests the supremacy on nothing more noble or more steady than "public opinion." To such a principle as this the principle of Ritualism will be found to be wholly, irreconcilably and for ever opposed.

We have thus traced the Ritualistic party from the earliest times of the reformed church to its birth shortly after the year 1850. We have stated its teaching in some detail, and its leading principle has been laid before the reader. No one can fail to remark how near an approach has been made to the Roman frontier. Many important questions arise from a consideration of this position. The space at our disposal will allow of little more than a bare statement of some of these:—

I.—Is the party, as its enemies say, a mere feeder to Rome, or is it, as it claims to be, a bulwark against Papal inroads? The answer to this seems to be that when men of logical minds come under the influence of Ritualistic teaching, when, moreover, such men examine that teaching, and the position of its teachers by the light of Ecclesiastical History, it is impossible for them to accept the teaching as complete, or the teachers as occupying a defensible position in ecclesiastical classification. These men will pass over to Rome. To persons whose "sentiment" is strong, and whose logic and ecclesiastical learning are weak, the Ritualistic teaching brings a sense of sufficiency and satisfactoriness. These men will remain as they now are, as long as they are permitted to do so. The Ritualists will also retain the allegiance of that large class whom social or other secularities more strongly influence than the love of things divine.

II.—Is the position of this party in the church reconcilable with the standards? The best answer to this is that many years of litigation have proved that its teaching cannot be shown to be contrary to those standards; but amidst many false pretences of a desire for fair play, the Government has lately appointed a special Judge with a commission, if possible, so to interpret the standards that the Ritualists may be "put down." The result of this measure cannot for some time yet be known.

III.—Ought the Ritualists to be "put down"? The answer

to this we would state as follows : The English Church continually lays claim to being a "branch" of the Catholic Church. We are not at present about to argue whether it is, or is not so, up to date. We assume that it is, and we say that if it desires to continue so, it cannot afford to cut away one single chord, even the slenderest one that remains, which still unites her (as she thinks) to the Catholic Church. If she "puts down" her Ritualists, she will extinguish that body within her which is most in accord with primitive Christianity, preserves for her no inconsiderable remnant of Catholic truth, and supplies her with her best, if not her only support to the claim made of being a "branch" of the Catholic Church.

IV.—What will be the result if the Ritualists are put down? To the Church of England the result will be as stated in our last paragraph; and if, in addition, the principle now prevalent is accepted, by which (as Lord Coleridge says) "the character and complexion of an established church must in the last resort be settled by the will of the majority of its present members"—then England will so break away from the sentiment and teaching of Catholic Christendom, that her church must at once sink to the rank of a petty sect, more hapless than other sects by the fact that she is the slave of the State while these are free. To the Ritualists we cannot say what will be the result of being "put down," that is to say, thrust out of the church of their fathers. Will they still maintain their isolation from the Catholic Church because of that trivial distinction which they now draw between primacy and supremacy, and swarm off to add another to the numberless sects which own the Church of England for their mother?—or will they give up their private judgment on this point, and return to the fold from which they and the Church to which they now belong were driven by the mandate of an adulterous king? Time alone can reveal.

VI.—Do we commend the Ritualists, or do we censure them? It may be allowed to us to do both. To the elder section of their body—the Tractarians—we accord the praise of a diligent search after truth; an openness to conviction up to a certain point; a fearlessness of censure, and success in raising, if one may so say, from the dead, the defunct body of the Church of England; to the younger section—the "Ritualists" of the present day—we would award the merit of aptly learning the lessons of the elder school, of carrying forward these lessons to their logical conclusions in certain directions, and of setting them forth to the nation accompanied by an appropriate ritual. If, on the other hand, it may be allowed us to censure in aught, we would say that in continuing within the Church of England, the Ritualists must bear their share of blame for complicity with the Act, and the motive which prompted

the Act, by which Henry VIII, according to Bishop Forbes, substituted for the jurisdiction of Rome what he is pleased to call an "equally unscriptural jurisdiction of the King of England." That church, not only as regards its civil affairs, but also as regards the most holy doctrines of the faith, has been, since (say) 1530, and down to this date, regulated, first, by the personal pleasure of the king; and secondly (after being entirely overthrown by Presbyterianism), by votes of Parliament. In the near future, if Lord Coleridge's views be accepted, the shouts of the crowd will be taken to decide whether any sacerdotal principle at all shall be left to the Church of England. From much of the discredit of all this, the Ritualists of Scotland (though the name 'Ritualist' is not current there)—represented by Bishop Forbes and Provost Cazenove—are exempt, inasmuch as the Episcopacy of the North is not part of the religion of the "State." Again, we blame the Ritualists for the determination which they show to ally themselves to co-religionists, who have absolutely not a single ecclesiastical, and very few religious ideas in common with them. For the sacerdotal element in the Church of England, and the Calvinistic or the Broad Church element are as oil and water; they never can mix, and to shake them together in one bottle, only results in an unsightly appearance of conjunction, while each particle of the one fluid still remains unmingled with the particles of the other. Lastly, we blame the Ritualists, because they continue to break the unity of the Church, although every plausible ground for separation has long ago been abandoned. Hallam's list of the differences between the new church and the old has been spunged out. There remains only the Supremacy of the Pope *versus* the Supremacy of Parliament and the secular judges. Even here we require further to narrow the distinction; for the Ritualists (as before said) admit in favour of the Bishop of Rome all of the Supremacy which would enter into a proper exercise of the "Primacy." What they have got—namely, royal or Parliamentary supremacy—is, according to their own teaching, "equally unscriptural" with the jurisdiction of Rome. They cannot, therefore, hold what they hold from any conscientious conviction that it is right. They know it to be "unscriptural." Even if we were to consider the matter as one of pure convenience only, as rival methods of church administration, the palm could not be awarded to the Ritualists. For the Roman administration secures unity and uniformity of teaching and practice, a definite hand well-known arrangement for bringing supposed errors to the test; and sure means of preventing unauthorized departure from the prescribed ritual of the church. Ritualism on the other hand, and the Church of England generally, have no means by which either its doctrines can be ascertained or its ritual enforced without excess on the one side or defect on the other. The liti-

gation of the last ten years proves this, and it remains for further proof whether the Supremacy of the Judge with the Brief is more "scriptural" than other agencies of infallibility which have, from time to time, been born of the "unscriptural" supremacy of the King; or whether the decrees of this Judge will or will not render confusion worse confounded within the precincts of the Church of England.

Those who know from scripture that "one body" is the first essential element in the church; that the figures therein employed to describe the church, especially those borrowed from marriage, exclude all possibility of duality, and that the Indivisible Unity of the Godhead has been placed before us as the model and degree of Unity in the Church; they who know these facts, and who know further where the centre of Unity was originally fixed, will not hesitate to say that the reasons which remain, at least to the Ritualists, for continuing the unscriptural duality which they constitute, are wholly inadequate to support so momentous a conclusion.

And is there nothing to be said on the other side of the question? We may at least ask, whether the Roman hierarchy in England is fully alive to the crisis which exists. The self-styled 'Catholic' party in the Church of England has, as we have shown, made advances towards the Roman frontier of no inconsiderable degree. A Royal Commissioner (miscalled a 'judge') has been appointed "to put down" that party. Cannot a friendly hand be extended to help it?—not alone in the interests of the party, but rather for the sake of promoting the unification of Christendom. To that party, if to any one, Dr Döllinger's remark applies that it is amalgamation rather than conquest which is to be desired. The Ritualists, it may be said, have accepted all Catholic doctrines except the supremacy, and in their practices they are mainly Catholic. Their expulsion from the Church of England may possibly result in their acceptance of the Supremacy; and with this secured might not some of the non-essential practices or disciplinary rules be relaxed in favour of England to the promotion of unity in the Church at large? It is true that the English Prayer-book is wholly compiled from Roman sources; but it is also true that the external form of a thing more frequently attracts or repels than the history of its origin, or its internal construction. Bearing in mind that the English nation has been trained, from generation to generation, in ancient Catholic forms as these are presented in the Prayer-book; might we not have a "Matin" service performed in the English language, as nearly as possible in the very words and order of the Prayer-book? There are not more than two or three clauses in the English "Litany" to which a Catholic would object.

Might not the Canticles and the Psalms be chanted in the English tongue, to the familiar English music? Does not the "Hymnal Noted" contain a collection of hymns from which a selection could be made for use in the Catholic Church in England as hymns are now used in the national Church services? We cannot judge of these matters; but we may enquire about them, and ask—if such a policy would tend to promote the re-union of any portion of the English Church with the Church of the early ages, is not the present day the time at which that policy should be inaugurated?

ART. VIII.—ISLAM.

THE Koran is a book dry and difficult to read. Very few except under the compulsion of historical research, have got through the whole even once; and fewer still have repeated the labour sufficiently often to become masters of its contents; yet the Koran is not merely the most trustworthy, it is the only source from which we can learn the genesis and gradual building up of Islam, as a religion. There we find, depicted as in a photograph, all the diverse influences—the persecution without, the doubts within, the political exigencies, the moral decadence—which worked together in the composition of this far-reaching and terrific spiritual force. In this country some knowledge of this process of incubation is needed, or at least useful to every one; but many a man, who would gladly rectify his ignorance, shrinks not without cause from the ponderous volumes of Muir or Sprenger or Weil. The aim of this paper is to supply what these inquirers want—to give a succinct and accurate account of the formation of Islam in the mind of its Founder. It does not, of course, pretend to throw any new light on the character of Muhammad. Its merits are its comparative brevity, and, I trust, its accuracy. It is the result of a very careful study of the Koran. The citations from the Koran are taken from Mr. Rodwell's Translation.

PART I.—MUHAMMAD AT MEKKA.

There is one remarkable assumption that runs through all the warnings, the denunciations and appeals of the Koran. It is no unknown God of whom the Prophet is speaking. The guilt of his fellow tribesmen, the justification of the punishment impending over them are deduced from the fact that they had once known and honoured this God, and that even now their reason and conscience acknowledged Him, though their hearts had gone astray after dumb idols. "Whose is the earth, and all that is therein—if ye know?" asks Muhammad; and he anticipates their reply—"They will answer, God's." "Who is the Lord of the seven heavens and the Lord of the glorious throne?" "They will say, They are God's."—"In whose hand is the empire of all things, who protecteth but is not protected?" They will answer, 'in God's.'—"How, then," he asks, "can ye be so spell bound?" Sprung from the children of Abraham, the memory of their august parentage was fondly cherished by the Arabian tribes. A persistent belief in a Divine Unity underlying the multiplicity of idol gods was the heritage which the Founder of the Jewish nation

had bequeathed to them. And since the ruin of Jerusalem and the spread of Christianity, that primitive belief had been awakened from its long sleep by constant intercourse with Jews and Christians. Jewish tribes were intermingled with Arab, both at Medina and in the neighbourhood of Mekka. In Syria many of the Arab tribes were wholly Christians; and Christian sects had penetrated far into the heart of Arabia. And it was due, doubtless, to the play of these deeper religious influences that we find towards the end of the sixth century of our era, scattered through Arabic poetry, numerous traces of a profound conviction of the unity of God, His supremacy over all other beings, and a lively consciousness of the moral responsibility of man. "All things," says one Poet, "without God are vanity." "God," says another, "is alone the True, and the Righteous, and sin is the attribute of man alone." At the time of Muhammad the people who professed this Theism were termed Hanyfs. The Arabic writers give the names of a dozen men contemporary with the Prophet who were thus designated. Muhammad appropriated the designation to himself; and during the first period of his mission, he did little beyond explaining and enforcing the tenets of the sect. The chief of these tenets appears to have been, that the pure worship of God had been revealed to Abraham in a Book sent down from Heaven; this Book had either been lost or subjected to so many interpolations that its primary significance was forgotten; and the spiritual well-being of mankind depended upon its re-discovery. In the pre-Islamite history of Arabia, the Hanyf, who stands forth most prominently, is Zaid the enquirer. He rejected the worship of idols, protested vehemently against the murder of female infants, and refused to eat meat offered in sacrifice to idols. "I pray," he said, "to the God of Abraham alone." His soul could find no rest within him so long as he dwelt at Mekka amid a people wholly given up to superstition. He longed to travel through the world searching after the knowledge of God; but for many years his wishes were successfully opposed by his family. At length he effected his escape. He traversed Mesopotamia and Syria; he conversed with Christian Monks and Jewish Rabbis; but the satisfaction his spirit craved after he could nowhere find; and he returned to die in his native land.

But among the fore-runners of the Prophet, the man who stands in closest connection with him is Waraka, the cousin of his first wife Kadija. He, like Zaid, was a Hanyf, and for a time confessed that a divine spirit spake by the lips of Muhammad. Subsequently, however, the enormous assumptions of the Prophet, and the deceptions he practised, caused a change of feeling. He declared him to be an impostor, and for himself became a Christian, in which faith he died. The influence of this Hanyfite Theism necessarily

extended far beyond the sect who actually held it. The idolatry of Mekka co-existed with the belief in a one God. Muhammad entered upon a field, the soil of which had been prepared to receive the seed he cast upon it. Wherein he differed from his predecessors was the voice of authority with which he spoke. He transformed the Hanyfite Theism from a speculative tenet of philosophy into a divine revelation. There was no God but God, and *Muhammad was his Prophet*. It was this second article, "forced as a divine revelation into the belief of so large a part of mankind, which was the power, the influence, the all-subduing energy of Islam; the principle of its unity, of its irresistible fanaticism, its propagation, its victories, its empire, its duration." * Muhammad was approaching his fortieth year before that inward change became apparent which converted him into a Prophet. He withdrew himself more and more from the society of his kind. The place whither he repaired during these hours of solitude was a cave at the foot of Mount Hira, about two or three miles north of Mekka. What first inspired Muhammad with his disgust and contempt of Arabian idolatry is matter of speculation only. Doubtless, the caravan journeys to Syria which brought him into constant intercourse with Jews and Christians suggested to him that there were higher objects of adoration than the trees and shapeless stones worshipped by his countrymen. But judging from the Koran I should be inclined to think that the beauty, the order, the all-pervading life in Nature first carried him above idolatry to the apprehension of a one God. Like all men of poetic temperament he was deeply moved by this spectacle. And the noblest passages in the Koran are those where he makes appeal to this testimony to establish the wisdom and beneficence of the Creator—

"The dead earth," he says, "is a sign to men; we quicken it and bring forth grain from it, and they eat thereof:

And we make in it gardens of the date and vine; and we cause springs to gush forth in it;

A sign to them also is the night. We withdraw the day from it, and lo! they are plunged in darkness;

And the sun hasteneth to her place of rest. This is the ordinance of the Mighty, the Knowing!

And as for the moon, we have decreed stations for it, till it change like an old and crooked palm branch.

To the sun it is not given to overtake the moon; nor doth the night outstrip the day; but each in its own sphere doth journey on.

Sura xxxvi., v. 34—40.

That the Being who had created all these marvels could reside in idols of wood and stone was, to him altogether incredible;

* Milman's Latin Christianity, vol. i., p. 455.

but not less so was the idea that these idols should symbolise a plurality of gods in the regions beyond the sky. A number of gods involved a number of wills, a variety of character and conflicting purposes. Such a belief introduced into the invisible world all the strife and disorder which prevailed in this; and which could not co-exist with that calm and majestic harmony whereby the earth renewed her life with each returning year, and day and night followed in ever recurring succession. The hatred of idolatry naturally increased as a life of meditative solitude nourished this belief in a Divine Unity to greater strength and precision. Men seemed to be wantonly rushing down into abysses of ruin with the light of truth shining all around them. There are a few fragments of verse preserved in the Koran which are supposed to belong to this period. They are full of a profound emotion—broken, almost inarticulate utterances—the full heart breaking beneath the burden of thought, and yet unable to give it expression.

The scene of these musings was in keeping with their tenor. All around Mount Hira the country is bleak and rugged—bare desolate hills and sandy valleys destitute of vegetation—and near at hand the last resting place of the “Inquirer” Zaid, who, after a lifetime spent in earnest endeavour to find God, had closed his search here, sick at heart from hopes so long deferred. One day amid these silent rocks Muhammad had a dream. An angel appeared before him and said, “Read”—“I cannot read.” The angel repeated the command and received the same response. Then the vision spoke as follows :—

Recite thou in the name of the Lord who created—
Created man from clots of blood—
Recite thou ! For thy Lord is the most beneficent,
Who hath taught thee the use of the pen ;
Hath taught man that which he knoweth not.

Sura xvi.

A flash of joy shot through Muhammad's heart. But the darkness of doubt gathered more heavily after this momentary break. There was no return of the celestial visitant. He wandered among the bleak rocks as before, but no angel forms rose against the sky, no angel voices broke the fearful solitude. The Prophet thought himself the sport of evil spirits; he is said even to have meditated suicide, when, again, the angel appeared though he heard no voice. Later he enjoyed a third visitation which he has described in the fifty-third Sura. He both saw the angel, and heard him speak, and received the assurance that he (Muhammad) was the Chosen of God. The angel then vanished. Muhammad fell senseless to the earth. On recovering his senses he hurried back to his family. “Enshroud me, enshroud me!” were the first words he uttered. They wrapped a cloak round him and

sprinkled water on his face ; and again the voice of the angel came to him, saying :

O ! thou enwrapped in thy mantle !

Arise and warn !

Thy Lord—magnify him !

Thy raiment—purify it !

The Abomination—flee it !

And bestow not favours that thou mayest receive again with increase,
And for thy Lord wait thou patiently !

The heart of the Prophet was now at rest, and his joy and gratitude flowed forth in what reads to me as the most touching passage in the Koran,

“ By the noon-day brightness

And by the night when it darkeneth ! ”

Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither hath he been displeased,
And surely the Future shall be better for thee than the Past, [fied

And in the end shall thy Lord be bounteous to thee, and thou be satisfied
Did he not find thee an orphan and gave thee a home ?

And found thee erring and guided thee ?

And found thee needy and enriched thee ?

As to the orphan, therefore, wrong him not ;

And as for him that asketh of thee chide him not away,

And as for the favours of thy Lord tell them abroad.

Sura xciii.

The assumption of the prophetic character raised at first no ill-will against Muhammad. The people thought him mad ; and in the East, as every one knows, madness is held in considerable respect. There was, too, nothing in his earliest utterances indicative of a root and branch destruction of the old Tribal modes of worship. They consist of short vehement exhortations to lead right lives, together with allusions to the “ last day,” the thought of which crushed the Prophet’s soul with all the weight of a close impending reality. The tenacious memory of the Arab seized readily upon these rhymed utterances, instinct as they are with the life and fervour of deep conviction. They circulated rapidly even among tribes at a distance from Mekka. The common people commenced to regard Muhammad as a man inspired. It was for the Prophet a spring time full of hope and on-looking thoughts ; and he gives expression to his thankfulness in the ninety-fourth Sura—

Have we not opened thine heart for thee ?

And taken off from thee thy burden

Which galled thy back ?

And have we not raised thy name for thee ?

Then verily along with trouble cometh ease,

Verily along with trouble cometh ease—

But when thou art set at liberty, then prosecute thy toil,

And seek thy Lord with fervour.

But the opposition only slumbered. So soon as Muhammad abandoned generalities to denounce idolatry it awoke to life. Mekka, planted in the midst of an arid desert without date groves or grazing lands, owed its existence to the possession of water, and its situation as a convenient resting place for the caravans passing to and fro between Yemen and Syria. The worship of the black stone had elevated this halting place into a spot of peculiar sanctity. From time immemorial, the tribes of Arabia had gone up thither to worship. The legend was that the Kaaba had been built and the ceremonies of the pilgrimage instituted by the patriarch Abraham and his son Ishmael. The sacred territory was in the keeping of the tribe of Koraish. They held it as the trustees for Arabia generally; and it is necessary to note this fact as explaining the cause of the opposition encountered by Muhammad.

Mekka was the centre of a system of idolatry, the branches of which extended through other tribes. The Arabs, who came on pilgrimage there, had gods and sacred places of their own which the Koraish were bound to visit and reverence. Westward from Mekka, as far as the sea, wandered the wild tribe of Kinana, closely allied with the Koraish, and held to be of the same blood. They served the goddess Ozza. She was represented by a tree at a place called Nakla, a day and a half's journey from Mekka.

Again, on the caravan road between Mekka and Syria, there was a sacred rock—the goddess Manah. South-east from Mekka ruled the tribe of Hawazun. Their central point was the pleasantly situated Tayif, and their favorite idol, the goddess Lât. The tie that held these and other tribes together was the religious one—the common belief in and veneration for each other's gods.

An iconoclastic reformer like Muhammad became, in consequence, a serious political danger to the tribe in which he appeared. If, at his calling, the Koraish repudiated the established religion, they became an object of hostility to all the tribes of Arabia. The war that would have ensued could have had no other termination than their expulsion from the sacred territory or their complete destruction. Any half-measures were equally impracticable. To have repudiated Lât and Ozza and Manah would have closed against them the traffic routes leading out of Mekka, and so destroyed the caravan trade by which they lived. To have thrown down the idols on the heights Safa and Marwan behind the Kaaba would have convicted them of being unfit guardians of the Sacred Territory, and would indubitably have been made the pretext for a confederation against them. It was, in fact, the instinct of self-preservation which united the leaders of the Koraish against Muhammad. This is apparent from the language

attributed to them in the Koran. "If we follow the way in which thou art guided, we shall be driven from our homes."

The battle against the new faith was carried on in two ways, by persecution, and by argument. It is with the last only that I am concerned in this paper.

In the beginning of his career, Muhammad strove to terrify his tribe into belief by terrific pictures of the Last Day. It is called "the terrible fire;" it is "the day when men shall be like scattered moths and the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool;" it is the Hour when "earth shall cast forth her burdens," "when the sun shall be folded up, and when the stars shall fall" and "when the female child that hath been buried alive shall be asked for what crime she was put to death."

And when the leaves of the Book shall be unrolled,

And when the Heaven shall be stripped away,

And when Hell shall be made to blaze,

And when Paradise shall be brought near

Every soul shall know what it hath produced.

And whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight of good shall behold it,

And whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight of evil shall behold it.

But these warnings fell upon unheeding ears. The Koraish were materialists to the marrow of their bones. A resurrection after death was a thing incredible to them. And Muhammad strove in vain to shake their scepticism. "What" said they, "after we shall have become bones and dust, shall we in sooth, be raised a new creation?" "Yes," thundered the Prophet, "though ye were stones or iron, or any other creature to you seeming yet harder to be raised." "Who shall bring us back?" "He who created you at first." And then he points out again and again how there is a continual bringing of life out of death going on in the world around them. God banks up great masses of rain cloud and drives them over a land barren, parched and dead, and it breaks into life and freshness, and "brings forth corn of which your cattle and yourselves do eat." He reminds them of the mystery of man's birth, his secret growth in the womb—and demands if this second birth after death be one whit more marvellous than his entrance into the world. But his arguments were unavailing. The Koraish sneered at his words as "fables of the ancients;" they taunted his disciples as the "followers of a man that is enchanted."

Defeated here, Muhammad took up a new line of attack. For the terrors of the last day he substituted a temporal calamity shortly to fall upon Mekka. His theory was this. To every land that had been visited by some divine calamity, a prophet had

been sent as "a warner." Only when the land had rejected his summons to repent, had the measure of their iniquity been filled and God's wrath fallen upon them. Muhammad carried on the succession of these messengers; he was charged with a commission precisely similar to theirs. The earliest Prophet was Noah; then Lot; then Moses and Aaron; then Houd who was sent to the tribe of Ad, then Saleh who was sent to the tribe of Themoud. They had, one and all, been met with derision and unbelief, but where now were those who had disregarded their words? The deluge had swept away the enemies of Noah; a fiery rain from heaven had destroyed the cities of the plain; Pharaoh and his army had perished in the Red Sea; a miraculous visitation had extirpated the tribes of Ad and Themoud. Let Mekka be wise in time. There can be no doubt that Muhammad at this time was terribly in earnest. His isolated position, his confident tone gave force and terror to these predictions. The people of Mekka were for a while startled out of their indifference. Upon his few followers the impression was so profound that even after his death they awaited fearfully the accomplishment of these threats. But when day after day, month after month, and even years passed away, and nothing came of them, the sentiment softened gradually down into the milder one of curiosity and from thence passed into that of derisive incredulity. Muhammad strove vehemently to preserve the original frame of mind. He repeated his typical instances again and again. The Suras of this period contain little else than a wearisome reiteration of them. But after the first feeling of alarm had worn away, it was wasted labour to attempt to renovate it. The very plurality of the threats had the effect, curiously enough, of depriving them of much of their significance. These astute infidels appear to have argued thus:—If we are to be drowned in a deluge, the shower of stones must be a superfluity; if we are swallowed up by an earthquake, we cannot then be transformed into dogs and swine. Gradually they took up bolder ground. They said they were wearied of hearing these threats, and awaiting their fulfilment. They did not intend to believe in Muhammad or to change their religion, and demanded that the punishment, whatever it was, should descend upon them without delay. This was an unforeseen difficulty. Muhammad replied that the purposes of God were not to be hastened to gratify the impatience of the Mekkans. But when pressed to fix a date, he shifted his ground and said that the presence of the Faithful in Mekka alone averted the doom from the unbelieving city. The retort was ready. There was nothing the Koraish desired more earnestly than to be rid of the Faithful altogether. They were a source of trouble and dissension. Let them depart without further

delay, and Mekka would gladly run the risk of incurring the threatened doom. Muhammad was, so to speak, driven into a corner, and compelled to surrender at discretion. He had to confess that he had overstepped his commission; he was only "a warner"; the times and seasons of God's purposes were known to God alone.

But this was only the beginning of sorrows. Muhammad's appeal to the earlier Prophets raised around him a perfect swarm of difficulties which stung like hornets. He had appealed to the testimony of these Prophets as evidence of his own mission. His message, he had said, was essentially the same as theirs; a transcript of the eternal decrees of God written on the everlasting table. Granted. But how were the Koraish to know that Muhammad was a Prophet. What proof could he adduce beyond his own conviction. It was idle to rank himself among the earlier Prophets unless he was provided with the same credentials. They were accompanied by signs of supernatural power apparent to any one who chose to look. Angels visited them; they could work miracles; a staff in their hands could be transformed into a serpent, and living camels at their bidding sprang forth from the heart of a rock. The sinfulness of those who believed them not consisted in beholding these manifestations of super-human power with unmoved hearts. Muhammad should not find the Mekkans so obdurate. Let him work a miracle and they would believe forthwith. He might in this way do them an effectual service. Let him turn the barren soil round Mekka into "a garden of palm trees and grapes and cause forth gushing rivers to gush forth in the midst." Let him "create a house of gold" or "mount up into heaven" and from thence "send down to them a book that they might read." Muhammad was obliged to acknowledge that he was endowed with no miraculous power; but this impotency, he asserted, was occasioned by *their* unbelief. God withheld this gift, because had it been conceded, their scepticism would have remained unshaken.

"We will not send down the angels without due cause; the infidels would not in that case have been respited.

Even were we to open above them a gate in Heaven, yet all the while they were mounting up to it.

They would surely say: It is only our eyes are drunken—nay, we are a people enchanted."

The Mekkans were acute enough to see that this assumption of their scepticism was in point of fact a confession that Muhammad had no authority for his mission other than his individual conviction. They pressed this point hard; and there can be little doubt that the perplexity of the situation drove Muhammad to the first of

those deviations from truth which multiplied as he grew older, and had such a woful influence on the subsequent destinies of Islam. He was brought face to face with the question which every Reformer has to meet and consider, against which so many noble spirits have gone to ruin. Will not the *end* justify the *means*? Here I am a servant of God intent only to enthrone him in the hearts of men, and at the very goal and termination of my labours I am thwarted by this incapacity to work a miracle. It is quite true, what these infidels allege, the older Prophets did possess this power; and I, unless my life is to be a failure, must also do something wonderful. In his despair Muhammad declared that the Koran itself was that constantly recurring miracle they were seeking after. Had they ever heard these stories of Noah, Lot, Abraham, Joseph, Zacharias, Jesus and others? No. No more had he. They were transcripts made from the "preserved Table" that stood before the throne of God. The Archangel Gabriel had revealed them to Muhammad written in pure Arabic for the spiritual edification of the Koraish. Thus in the 12th Sura, where he details at great length an exceedingly ridiculous history of Joseph, he commences the narrative with these words, as spoken by God—

"These are the signs of the clear book. An Arabic Koran have we sent it down that ye might understand it.

In revealing to thee this Koran (*i.e. this sura or chapter*) one of the most beautiful of narratives will we narrate to thee, of which thou has hitherto been regardless."

And at the close we are told—

"This is one of the secret histories which we reveal unto thee. Thou wast not present with Joseph's brethren when they conceived their design and laid their plot; but the greater part of men, though thou long for it, will not believe. Thou shalt not ask of them any recompense for this message. It is simply an instruction for all mankind."

And again in the 69th Sura, he declares respecting the Koran—

"It is a missive from the Lord of the worlds,
But if Muhammad had fabricated
Concerning us any savings,
We had surely seized him by the right hand,
And had cut through the vein of his neck."

It would be easy to multiply extracts of similar purport; but the above will suffice by way of illustration. There are some of the biographers of the Prophet who would have us believe that when attributing to God the wild and foolish legends which abound in the Koran Muhammad really expressed his own conviction. He was under a hallucination of course, but he believed what he said. This to me is incredible. These legends are mainly derived from Talmudic sources. Muhammad must have learned them from some Jew resident in or near Mekka.

To work them up in the form of rhymed Suras, to put his own peculiar doctrines in the mouth of Jewish patriarchs, the Virgin Mary, and even the Infant Jesus (who talks like a good Moslem the moment after his birth) must have required time, thought and labor. No one, under such circumstances, could have fancied that these legends were brought to him ready prepared by an angelic visitor. It was an act of conscious deception, where the end, so Muhammad must have reasoned, justified the means. It failed, however, to impress in any degree the obstinate sceptics for whose benefit it had been perpetrated. "They turned their backs on him," so Muhammad tells us, and said, "Taught by others, possessed." They even seem to have indicated the man who instructed him ; for Muhammad repeatedly returns to this charge ; affirming that he, whom they pointed at, did not know Arabic, and could not therefore have composed an Arabic Koran. He says in one place ; (Sura 16, v. 103, *et seq.*)--

"And when we change one verse for another, and God knoweth best what He revealeth, they say, 'Thou art only a fabricator.' Nay ! but most of them have no knowledge.

"Say ; the Holy Spirit hath brought it down with truth from thy Lord, that He may stablish those who have believed, and as guidance and glad tidings to the Moslems."

We also know that they say, "Surely a certain person teacheth him." But the tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign, while this *Koran* is in the plain Arabic.

To this the Mekkans retorted that he had supplied the materials, and Muhammad worked them up into their present shape. To this there was no reply. There can be little doubt that the Mekkans were right both as to the man and his participation in the Koran. The man, whoever he was, at whom suspicion pointed, must have been in constant and intimate communion with Muhammad to have occasioned his selection at all. In truth Muhammad confesses so much in his eagerness to clear himself from the charge. Had, then, this man been innocent of any share in the composition of the Koran, nothing would have been easier than to demonstrate the fact, either by the man's own confession, or other proof that he was ignorant of these stories. Muhammad does not attempt this. He evidently feels that his enemies had struck him hard in this matter. He returns to the subject again and again ; but only to repeat the same objection that a man unlearned in the Arabic language could not write a pure Arabic Koran,—a feat the Mekkans had never asserted he could do.

In argument, therefore, Muhammad may be said to have been beaten along his whole line. The sceptics attacked all his positions and carried them. He could furnish no proof that he was

a Prophet. The power to work miracles was denied to him ; his predictions were falsified by the event ; his (so-called) revelations were rightly believed to have been communicated to him by human agency. In abandoning Mekka he acknowledged his defeat. Nevertheless, the germs of future success had been planted in the midst of seeming discomfiture. He departed, carrying away with him the flower of the Koraish. Abu Bakr, Omar, Ali, Zobair, and other "companions of Muhammad" left none equal to themselves, when they shook the dust of their ancestral city from off the soles of their feet. The sceptical arguments of the Mekkaans tell, it must be observed, not against Muhammad's message, but against his authority as a Prophet, his right to deliver any message at all. All the conservative instincts natural to man had been ranged against him. The political dangers consequent on a change of religion were, as I have already pointed out, very great. The majority of men, moreover, just because they do not believe in any religion with much fervour, are always loth to change that in which they have been brought up. It furnishes what they want as well as any other. It gives them an air of respectability and an honorable position in society. They hate trouble, and especially do they wish to keep themselves untainted by "the malady of thought." Our fathers, said such respectable easy-going spirits among the Koraish, worshipped these gods and "shall we then abandon them for a crazed poet?" When, therefore, the polemical discussion made it quite clear that Muhammad had nothing whatever beyond his own conviction to urge in favor of his new religion, they ceased to pay heed to him. These worthy souls, at least the most of them, had no desire even to persecute the new faith. All they wanted was a quiet life, and as that seemed unattainable so long as Muhammad remained at Mekka, they heartily wished he would take himself off and trouble them no more.

But there is in every community not doomed to perish of corruption, an inner circle which is as salt that preserves the mass from putrefaction. This is formed of the speculative and critical spirits discontented with the established facts which confront them,—the minds that have caught glimpses of unknown worlds that lie beyond the circuit of the conventional horizon. Individually their labors seem of little effect, but collectively their's is the power which makes "the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change." There were such among the Koraish. The forerunners of Muhammad had sapped in such minds the belief in idolatry. The theology they had taught, though in crude form, had already stirred the reason and conscience of these nobler intellects. Muhammad gave expression to their inarticulate convictions. He was, one might say, the Martin Luther of the Arabs, not the

creator of a new religion, but the interpreter of thoughts "in the air." Such men and women rallied to his call primarily in virtue of the message he brought. They needed no miracles to assure them of his authority. The fact that he possessed this message was to them a sufficient proof of his authority to deliver it. There was no need to practise deception to win such minds. But from belief in a message it was an easy, an inevitable transition for an untutored impetuous race to ascribe a divine illumination to him who proclaimed it. "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet"—the second proposition could not fail to be regarded as a logical sequence of the first. At the moment, then, of seeming defeat, we can see now that the success of Islam was assured. The seventy men who followed the Prophet to Medina, not merely drew away the very heart's blood of the Koraish; they planted in their new city an *imperium in imperio* bound together by the strongest of all ties—the sense of a divine calling. Muhammad was the wielder of this mighty force. It remained with him to make it an agent either of evil, or of good. How he acted will be related in my second part.

The Suras delivered at Mekka contain all the theology (properly so-called) of Islam. Those delivered at Medina are devoted almost entirely to the organisation of the new Faith, as a polity; the regulation of marriage, divorce, concubinage, slavery, &c, the definition of the relations that are to exist between it and other faiths; and the settlement of a number of small matters connected with the private concerns of the Prophet and his wives. I shall, then, in conclusion give a brief account of this theology.

Muhammad was neither philosopher nor metaphysician. No speculative difficulties troubled him as to the sources of creative power or the relations between man and God. An omnipotent self-conscious Being was the first cause. He had said, "Be" and the universe had started into existence. That was the whole account of the matter. Muhammad held it a monstrous absurdity to suppose that the attributes of man gave him any peculiar claims on the consideration of God. But it was worse than an absurdity, it was blasphemy to suppose that man could claim any spiritual kinship with the Creator—that any particle of the divine essence had been breathed into him. "Almost," he cries in horror, "might the very heavens be rent thereat, and the earth cleave asunder and the mountains fall down in fragments. Verily there is none in the heavens and the earth, but shall approach the God of Mercy as a slave." God sits in unapproachable majesty. He has fashioned man as an artificer fashions an image out of clay. There is no living bond between them. God is called the Merciful and

Compassionate, not because love is of the essence of His nature, but because, though all powerful, He forbears to use His might for man's destruction. He might smite man with plagues; He might cause him to perish of famine or the lingering agonies of thirst; He might envelop the earth in perpetual darkness; but out of His mercy and compassion He does none of these things. *He gives men rain and fruitful seasons and genial sunshine. *But He is not less the inscrutable despot, acting upon no principle but the caprices of His will. He creates the soul, and "breathes into it its wickedness and its piety." He "misleadeth whom He will, and guideth whom He will;"—"whomsoever God shall please to direct He will open his breast to receive the faith of Islam, but whomsoever He shall please to lead into error, He will render his breast straight and narrow as though he were climbing up into heaven. Thus doth God inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not." Hope perishes under the weight of this iron bondage. There are in the Koran no forward glances to a coming golden age when the earth should be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea, such as irradiate the hymns and prophecies of the Old Testament. There is no communion of man's spirit with the spirit of God; none of that loving trust which casteth out fear. There are not even any aspirations after spiritual perfection as bringing a man nearer to God. "God," to quote the words of Dean Milman, "stands alone in His nature, remote, unapproachable; in His power dominant throughout all space, and in all time, but divided by a deep and impassable gulf from created things. The absorption into, or even the approximation towards the Deity by contemplation in this life or perfection in the life to come are equally foreign to the Koran." Muhammad took the world as it was; war, concubinage, slavery with its nameless horrors were all parts of the divine constitution of the universe. What we understand by a social reformer would have appeared to Muhammad a portent of impiety as one who presumed to interfere with the arrangements laid down by the Creator. The business of a wise man is not to question but submit, and by confession of the Unity escape the torments of hell.

* This is the central tenet of Islam. It suffices to explain the degraded condition of Muhammadan countries. So long as Muhammad lived and God did stoop to hold communications with men, the effects flowing from it were in a measure obscured. But when he died, the Deity seemed to withdraw altogether from the world He had created. The sorrows, sufferings, crimes, hopes, and struggles of men became a wild and ghastly orgy without meaning or ulterior purpose. The one rational object which a sober-minded practical man could set before him was in this life to keep

aloof from all this senseless turmoil ; and by a diligent performance of the proper rites and ceremonies to cheat the Devil in the next. And this has always been so. History repeats itself in all Muhammadan countries with a truly doleful exactness. The great bulk of the people are passive ; wars and revolutions rage around them ; they accept them as the decrees of a fate it is useless to contend against. In the meantime all power passes into the hands of a few ambitious and turbulent spirits unincumbered by scruples of any kind ; animated by no desires except those of being rich and strong. There is never a sufficient space of rest and order to allow institutions or any settled principles of Government to grow up. Each adventurer as he rises to the summit of his ambition can keep his unsteady footing only by smiting down those who are climbing after him. Sooner or later, of course, he sinks to give way to another, and so the scene shifts and changes, until utter exhaustion and swift corruption (the state of Islam at the present time) supervene on this insane and convulsive activity. The purer and nobler natures, again, which exist in all communities, are compelled to have recourse to mysticism to find the food they seek. By abstraction from all earthly concerns and lonely contemplation, they strive to assimilate their inner lives to that ideal of goodness present in their minds ; and thus the salt of society—the moral purifier—is gradually abstracted from it. The Koran pulverises humanity into an infinite number of separate atoms. The one common duty laid upon the Faithful is to be the agents of God's vengeance on those who believe not. These are to be slaughtered until they pay tribute, when they are to be allowed to go to hell in their own way without further molestation. But the subject of religious war or *jihad* cannot be properly treated until the Medina Suras are taken into consideration.

The earth, according to Muhammad, is flat ; stretched out as a carpet with the hills planted upon it in order to keep it steady. "He (*i.e.*, God) hath thrown firm mountains on the earth lest it move with you." The world is not tenanted by men and animals only. It is the dwelling place of innumerable djinns. They are "created of subtle fire." Hell will be filled hereafter with djinns and men. Not all, however, of the djinns are evil. In the 72nd Sura (entitled djinns) Muhammad relates how one night as he journeyed between Mekka and Tayif, he recited passages from the Koran which were overheard by a company of djinns who, exclaiming "verily we have heard a marvellous discourse," proclaimed themselves of the number of the Faithful. The evil Djinns are the tempters who lead men into sin and unbelief. They steal up to the gates of Heaven to overhear the secrets of God. The stars are a vast magazine of fiery darts to hurl

at these inquisitive demons. The shooting stars seen on a clear night are these celestial arrows flung by angelic hands.

"We have adorned the lower heaven with the adornment of the stars.

They serve also as a guard against every rebellious satan.

That they overhear not what passeth in the assembly on high, for they are darted at from every side,

Driven off and consigned to a lasting torment ;

While if one steal a word by stealth, a glistening flame pursueth him."

Nevertheless, by means of these perilous excursions the djinns do gather fragments of the truth, and thereby decoy men to destruction. They descend on every lying wicked person and impart what they have heard. They cause men to be puffed up with these partial glimpses of the truth, and so lead them blindfold into hell.

Eblis, the principle of Evil, is the Lord of the djinns. He was originally among the chief of God's angels. The story of his expulsion from heaven is given several times in the Koran. It is as follows : when God created Adam he said to the angels, "Prostrate yourselves unto Adam," and all prostrated themselves in worship save Eblis. "What" demanded God, "hath hindered thee from prostrating thyself in worship at my bidding?" "Nobler" retorted Eblis, "am I than he; me hast thou created of fire; of clay hast thou created him." God said, "Get thee down hence; Paradise is no place for thy pride; Get thee gone hence; one of the despised shalt thou be." He replied, "Respite me till the day when mankind shall be raised from the dead." This God concedes to him; and ever since Eblis has been at large directing and superintending the machinations of the evil djinns. He beguiled Adam and Eve, and brought about their expulsion from Eden; and he is "the tutelar" of every unbelieving sinful person.

Another order of Spiritual Beings who mingle among men are the angels of God. The hosts of these are innumerable. Their functions are various. They succour the Faithful in the day of battle. Five thousand of these invisible auxiliaries fought on the side of the Moslems at the victory of Bedr. At Ohod a similar number were present, but the Faithful having been worsted on that occasion, it is conjectured that they did not take an active part in the fray. The angels are likewise spies over the lives of men. Every man is accompanied through life by "a succession of angels before him and behind him who watch over him by God's behest." They relieve each other at their post, and thus it is that the most secret thoughts of a man's heart are communicated to God, and "noted in a distinct writing." This becomes, what we may call, his character roll at the day of Judgment. It is abominable to suppose as the heathen Arabs did that the angels are women. "What?" demands the Prophet, "hath your Lord prepared sons for you, and taken for himself daughters from among th

angels? Indeed, ye say a dreadful saying." Nineteen angels guard the gates of hell. On the day of Judgment eight angels will bear up the throne of God, and a vast multitude will encircle it, hymning the praises of the Creator and interceding for the believers, saying,—

O! our Lord! thou embracest all things in mercy and knowledge; forgive, therefore, those who turn to thee and follow thy path; keep them from the pains of hell!

The terrors of the last day are depicted with great minuteness. It will be heralded in by a shattering to pieces of the whole visible world. The sun will be folded up. The stars will fall. The mountains will be set in motion. The she-camels will be abandoned; and the heaven will be stripped away like the skin of an animal when flayed. Then the earth will cast forth what was in her and become empty. Then those whose character roll is placed in their right hands will enter heaven with joy; but those who receive it in their left hands,* in the fire shall they burn. But, perhaps, the most vivid passage is this—

There shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the heavens and all who are in the earth shall expire, save those whom God shall vouchsafe to live. Then shall there be another blast on it, and lo! arising they shall gaze around them:

And the earth shall shine with the light of her Lord, and the books shall be set, and the prophets shall be brought up and the witnesses; and the judgment shall be given between them with equity; and none shall be wronged:

And every soul shall receive as it shall have wrought, for well knoweth He men's actions.

And by troops shall the unbelievers be driven towards hell, until when they reach it; its gates shall be opened, and its keepers shall say to them, "Come not apostles from among yourselves to you, reciting to you the signs of your Lord, and warning you of the meeting with Him on this your day?" They shall say, "Yes," but just is the sentence of punishment on the unbelievers.

It shall be said to them, "Enter ye the gates of hell, therein to dwell for ever!" and wretched the abode of the arrogant!

But those who feared their Lord shall be driven on by troops to Paradise, until when they reach it, its gates shall be opened, and its keeper shall say to them, "All hail! virtuous have ye been: enter then in to abide herein for ever."

And they shall say, "Praise be to God who hath made good to us His promise, and hath given to us the earth as our heritage, that we may dwell in Paradise wherever we please!" And goodly is the reward of those who travelled virtuously. And thou shalt see the angels circling around the throne with praises of their Lord! and Judgment shall be pronounced between them with equity: and it shall be said, "Glory be to God, the Lord of the worlds."

Sura, xxxix. "The Troops."

* The actual words are, "he whose book shall be given him behind his back." The Muhammadans believe that the right hand of the damned will be chained to the neck; the left chained behind the back.

Hell and heaven are painted with an abundance of detail. The denizens of hell will dwell "amid pestilential winds and in scalding water, and in the shadow of a black smoke not cool and horrid to behold." Draughts of boiling water will be forced down their throats. They will be dragged by the scalp and flung into the fire. Garments of fire will be fitted on to them. They will also be beaten with iron maces. So often as they endeavour to escape out of hell, because of the anguish of their torments, they will be dragged back, their tormentors exclaiming: "Taste ye the pain of burning." So often as their skins are well burned, other skins will be given them in exchange in order that they may taste the sharper torment, for "God," says the Prophet with infinite gusto, "is mighty and wise"—a singular illustration this of the Divine sagacity. The Faithful, on the other hand, will be led into "gardens of delight" and repose on "inwrought couches."

Aye blooming youth go round about to them
With goblets and ewers and a cup of following wine,
Their brows ache not from it nor fails the sense.

The wives, too of the Faithful, "on soft green cushions and beautiful carpets shall recline." The fruits of the gardens will hang within easy reach—the pomegranate, the date, and all that is pleasant to the sight and the taste. And there will be Houris with "large dark eyes" and "swelling bosoms" endowed with immortal youth and beauty and "kept close in their pavilions, whom man hath never touched nor any djinn;" but who are now freely lavished upon the fortunate believer.

How far Muhammad understood this last description to be understood literally is a vexed question, but one which cannot be passed over as of little importance. No one can come to any clear judgment of the moral influence of Islam or the character of the prophet who has not decided for himself how Muhammad intended these passages to be interpreted. My conviction is that they were intended to be understood literally. I will briefly give the reasons which have led me to this conclusion.

The mind of Muhammad was one in which the sense of mystery was almost wholly absent. He had never experienced the sense of an unknown lying beyond the reach of human thought. The burden and the mystery of all this unintelligible world weighed lightly enough upon him. He saw no difficulties. The earth was flat, and kept steady by the mountains—this, in his estimation, was a perfectly satisfactory cosmogony. There were seven heavens, good solid substantial firmaments, and the lowest a magazine of fiery darts for hurling at the djinns. The djinns and the angels though created of subtle fire are in all other respects the same as men. Even God's omnipresence is not so much an attribute essential to His divine nature, as

an effect brought about mechanically by a system of organisation—troops of angels on constant duty over the hearts of men. In hell, again, the punishments are all of a thoroughly material description; and no one supposes that these are to be understood symbolically. The cast of Muhammad's mind is in a word thoroughly materialistic; and why it should be thought that the pictures of Paradise are an exception to this universal rule, I cannot understand.

The usual argument urged is that these descriptions are not repeated in the later Suras of the Koran; and that when written Muhammad was content with a single wife. This argument would be a strong one if it could be shown that (1) when Muhammad had only one wife he had the power to add to the number; and (2) that as he grew older, his life became purer and more elevated. Unfortunately, it is impossible to demonstrate either. Amongst the Arabs, a man could not get a wife unless he could satisfy her family that he could support her decently. And so extreme was Muhammad's poverty as a young man, that until Kadijah offered herself to him, he had never dared to ask the hand of any one in marriage. His marriage to Kadijah, of course, placed him personally in comfortable circumstances, though it did not enrich him. Kadijah kept all her fortune in her own hands, and Muhammad was as little in a position as before, to seek for other alliances. That he was a man of strong passions, and ready to gratify them at all costs, his life at Medina shows abundantly. His love for Ayesha offered no obstacle to constant enlargements of his harem—nay, he even had recourse to special revelations when his passions hurried him into the transgression of rules which he himself had promulgated on divine authority. At almost every large capture of women, the fairest was set aside by the Prophet as his own property. Distant kings and chiefs who desired to win his favours, mined their way into his heart by presentations of beautiful slaves. At the time even of his death, a fresh wife was *en route* for Medina. Contemporaneously with all this (as I shall have to show in the second part of this paper) there is a general decadence in the character of Muhammad. The lofty and impassioned religious teacher becomes transformed into the oriental despot reaching his objects through assassination, treachery, wholesale massacre, war, and robbery. If, then, these sensuous descriptions of Paradise are omitted from the later Suras, whatever the cause, the omission could not have been due to a purification of the "eye of the mind" revealing a higher ideal of spiritual blessedness. The more probable cause, assuredly, is satiety. The pleasures which appeared so intense when out of reach, that Muhammad could think of no reward so sweet to the believer

in Paradise, palled so soon as they were enjoyed without restriction. This has always been the fate of loveless sensuality. Muhammad, beyond doubt, was warmly attached to Kadija; he asserts it repeatedly; and he would have been destitute of all gratitude had he been indifferent to the woman who emancipated him from the pressure of poverty, who was the first to believe in his prophetic mission, and who for so many years was his fond and tender wife. But the marriage had not been one of Muhammad's seeking. The original offer came from Kadija, and the future Prophet overlooked the disparity of age for the sake of other advantages; or, as we should say now, he married for money, not for love. It must be borne in mind that what we understand by chastity and by love formed no part at all of Muhammad's creed. A man needs must prefer one woman to another; this was an ordinance of nature; but that he should, therefore, rigidly confine his attentions to that one was a sequence no Arab, and certainly not Muhammad, was prepared to admit. Female slaves, for example, which "your right hand possessed,"—he specially lays it down as a divine enactment, that you may treat these as you please. Four wives were compatible with the most rigid asceticism. With such convictions and with his violent passions, it must to Muhammad have been a positive torment to be tethered to a single and aged wife. His thoughts turned longingly to the felicitous state of the Persian King—the greatest monarch known to the Arabs—with all the beauties of the East at his disposal, dwelling in abodes of suitable grandeur and luxury. This, surely, was the intensest happiness allowed to man on earth. This, then, surely, must be reserved in heaven for the true believer. For the good Muhammadan, it must be remembered, undergoes no change by reason of his admission into Heaven; he is precisely the same man in every respect, that he was before; Muhammad's doctrine is the exact opposite of that of St. Paul; it is flesh and blood which inherit *his* Paradise; and such being the case the delights of Paradise must be those most consonant to human flesh and blood as it existed in Mekka. Hence, as has often been pointed out, the descriptions of Paradise answer exactly to the accounts of the harems kept by these magnificent Persian despots. Ahasuerus, in the book of Esther, leads precisely the life of the Faithful in Paradise. He "appoints officers in all the provinces of his kingdom that they may gather together all the fair virgins unto Shushan the palace." It takes an entire year to fit these young ladies for presentation to the king, "six months with oil of myrrh, and six months with sweet odour." Such was the sort of life that fired the imagination of the youthful Prophet, who, during his career at Mekka, saw very little hope, except in Paradise, of ever entering into it.

R. D. OSBORN.

ART. IX.—MR. GRIFFITH'S RAMAYAN.

The Rámáyan of Válmíki. Translated into English verse by Ralph T. H. Griffith, M.A., Principal of the Benares College. In five volumes. London : Trübner and Co. ; Benares : E. J. Lazarus and Co.

THE publication of the fifth and last volume of Mr. Griffith's Rámáyan places the great Indo-Aryan epic for the first time before English readers. It stands before us at once the adequate and artistic representative of one of the most remarkable of national poems, and a monument of poetical taste and scholarly acquirement. Mr. Griffith's Specimens of Old Indian Poetry, and his Scenes from the Rámáyan, have enjoyed a long and merited reputation ; and his name will henceforth be linked with one of the most important and impressive records of the Indo-European heroic period. He is entitled to a not inconspicuous niche in the temple of scholarly fame.

There has been of late years the tendency among those of us who rise above the level of every-day life at home and in India to undervalue the labours of the scholar. This tendency is attributable to a blind admiration, rather than to an intelligent estimate, of the results and promises of physical inquiry. Mankind are now as ever divided into the reflective few and the unreflective many. The few who think at all are now-a-days too often in a hurry to clothe their philosophical nakedness with shreds and patches of popular positivism. Fashion strives to rule in the schools as in the world. Everywhere the cry is heard that phenomena and their uniformities are the only possible objects of inquiry. The study of the past appears a study of venerable and antiquated delusions. We are most of us crying Peace, peace, while there is no peace. There is no repose for the mind till it has wrestled with all its difficulties. Hasty thinkers do not escape the speculative questions which have vexed all mankind by shutting their eyes to them. Hiding their heads in the sand they do not elude the pursuers whom they no longer see. The scholar alone, we think, fairly faces all difficulties. Looking boldly at the problems and puzzles, the make-shifts and solutions, of generation after generation, the thoughts and feelings of mankind and their resultant institutions come before him for patient criticism. He shirks no awkward question by talking of metaphysical absurdities. Such, at least, is the ideal.

* "The object and aim of philology in its highest sense is but

one,—to learn what man is, by learning what man has been. With this principle for our pole-star, we shall never lose ourselves, though engaged in the most minute and abstruse inquiries. Our own studies may seemingly refer to matters that are but secondary and preparatory, to the clearance, so to say, of the rubbish which passing ages have left on the monuments of the human mind. But we shall never mistake that rubbish for the monuments which it covers. And if, after years of troublesome labour, we do not arrive at the results which we expected,—if we find but spurious and unimportant fabrications of individuals, where we thought to place ourselves face to face with the heroes of an ancient world, and among ruins that should teach us the lessons of former ages—we need not be discouraged nor ashamed, for in true science even a disappointment is a result.”

Those who are so eager to proclaim the study of the past to be a dereliction of fruitful science, may be willing to listen to the deliverance of a prophet of their own. “If my opportunities,” says Professor Huxley,* “had lain in that direction, there is no investigation into which I could have thrown myself with greater delight than that of antiquity. What science can present greater attractions than philology? How can a lover of literary excellence fail to rejoice in the ancient masterpieces? And with what consistency could I, whose business lies so much in the attempt to decipher the past, and to build up intelligible forms out of the scattered fragments of long-extinct beings, fail to take a sympathetic, though an unlearned, interest in the researches of a Niebuhr, a Gibbon, or a Grote? Classical history is a great section of the palæontology of men; and I have the same respect for it as for other kinds of palæontology—that is to say, a respect for the facts which it establishes as for all facts, and a still greater respect for it as a preparation for the discovery of a law of progress.”

Such a protest is not unnecessary before, in examining Mr. Griffith's *Rāmāyan*, we proceed to speak in detail of the work of a scholar. We shall be called upon again in the course of our remarks to join issue with the current opinions.

Our first business is to place the reader at the point of view from which the *Rāmāyana* may be profitably contemplated.

As an early national poem we know what we are to expect from it,—a picture of a society in which religion, morality, the common interest, and capricious sentiments co-exist as components of a yet undifferentenced mass of authoritative custom, in which the current conventions tend spontaneously to clothe and idealise themselves in impressivo fictions.

* Lay Sermons, Addresses and Reviews, 49.

As the Indian epic, we are to expect from it a picture of Aryan or semi-Aryan society under unfavourable conditions, debased and enfeebled. Sanskrit literature exhibits the Indo-European mind in a state of decadence and depression; a state due partly to intermixture with lower races, partly to climatic and other natural influences, and chiefly to an undisturbed acquiescence in the plausibilities of popular thought and feeling. The renunciation of these is the starting-point of all art, science, speculation, and moral culture worth the name. All human advancement is due to a progressive abrogation of current sentiments and unreasoned beliefs. All that is good in man has proceeded, and can only proceed, from a repudiation of common sense.

It is well known that the three regenerate classes of ancient India, sacerdotal, military, and agricultural, are of Aryan or Indo-European origin. But "it* is certain that this (the Indo-Aryan) race is far from being of pure descent, having intermingled to a considerable extent with the ordinary population. There is but little to remind us of the Mongolian type in the countenances of the Hindus, which are often remarkable for a symmetrical beauty, that only wants a more intellectual expression to render them extremely striking; some traces of it, however, may perhaps be found in the rather prominent zygomatic arches which are common amongst them; but the cranial portion of the skull presents no approach to the pyramidal type, being often very regularly elliptical." The Indo-Arians are more closely akin to the Perso-Arians than to any other branch of the Indo-European family. They appear to have migrated southwards from the same seat in Central Asia. † "The" three dialects of ancient Persia with which we are acquainted, viz., that of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, that of the second part of the Yásna, and the language of the remaining portion of the Avesta, have all such a close affinity to the Sanskrit as exhibited in the Vedas, that they might almost be all called dialects of one and the same language." The Persians styled themselves *airya* (honourable), a name known to Herodotus; the Indians *arya*. The *Āpṭa Hendu* of the Vendidad is the *Sapta Sindhavah* of the Veda, the country of the seven rivers, the earliest seat of the Aryans in the Panjáb and adjacent country. "A number of personages in the Veda correspond in name with others in the Avesta In the Vedas and Upanishads we already meet with Yama as the king of the dead. Among the ancient Indians his world is not a place of terrors, but its expanses are full of light, and the abodes of happiness, pleasure, and rapture. In Iran, Yima is a fortunate monarch, under whose rule there was neither death nor sickness."

* Carpenter's Principles of Human Physiology, p. 894.

† Professor Spiegel, in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. 2. pp. 294-299.

"In both the Indian and the Persian religions, Soma, or Haḍma, is the name of a plant, the juice of which is pressed out and drunk, with certain religious forms; and in both religions Soma is also a god." "The reception of neophytes into the sacred society is performed among both peoples, the Persians and the Indians, by investing them with a girdle or thread." The separation of the two races probably arose from a schism. Ahura, the highest god of the Persians, is the Asura of Indian mythology. "The Devas of the Indians have under the name of Daēvas, been transformed into evil spirits and allies of Angra Mainyus. Indra, the highest god of the earliest Hinduism, is in like manner banished to hell. Sarva occurs as an evil spirit, while the Indians have considered this name worthy to be a designation of Śiva." Together with the Perso-Aryans, the Indo-Aryans constitute the stationary or unprogressive portion of the Indo-European family of nations.

Legendary memories of their happier northern seats lingered among the Indo-Arians. In the north are Meru, the Indian Olympus, where the courts of Brahmā are frequented by gods Rishis, and Gandharvas; Kailāsa, the residence of Kavera, and paradise of Śiva; and the seats of the Northern Kurus

"* Reach the North Kurus' land, where rest
The holy spirits of the blest :
Where golden buds of lilies gleam
Resplendent on the silver stream,
And leaves of azure turkis throw
Soft splendour on the waves below.
Bright as the sun at early morn
Fair pools that happy clime adorn.
Where shine the loveliest flowers on stems
Of crystal, and all valued gems.
Blue lotuses through all the land
The glories of their bloom expand,
And the resplendent earth is strewn
With peerless pearl and precious stone.
There stately trees can scarce uphold
The burthen of their fruits of gold,
And ever flaunt their gay attire
Of flower and leaf like flames of fire.
All there sweet lives untroubled spend
In bliss and joy that knows not end.
Still on your forward journey keep
And rest you by the northern deep,
Where springing from the billows high
Mount Somagiri seeks the sky.
There, present through all life's extent,
Dwells Brahmā lord pre-eminent,
And round the great god manifest
In Rudra's forms high sages rest."

The Bengal recension adds : "† There is neither cold, nor heat

* Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. iv., p. 215. *rā, nāmayastathā, na soko bhayam vāpi*
† *Nā tatra sitam ushnam vā, na jā- na varsham, nāpi bhōṣkarah.* iv. 41.

nor decrepitude, nor disease, nor grief, nor fear, nor rain, nor sun," reminding as of the Homeric Olympus—

"* There, as they tell, the gods securely bide
In regions where the rough winds never blow,
Unvisited by mist or rain or snow.

Or of the "island-valley of Avilion

Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadow'd happy, fair with orchard-lawns
And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea."

As these blissful seats are in the north, so that undiscover'd land, the realm of Yama the regent of the dead, lies in the south. The south is the *terminus ad quem* as the north is the *terminus à quo* of the migrating Indo-Aryan.

"† Go forth he cried with all this host
Exploring to the southern coast. . . .
A noble mountain shall ye view
Named Rishabh, like a mighty bull
With gems made bright and beautiful.
Here by good deeds a home is won
With shapes like fire, the moon, the sun.
Here they who merit heavenly worth
Dwell on the confines of the earth.
There stay: beyond it, dark and drear
Lies the departed spirits' sphere.
And girt with darkness, far from bliss.
Is Yama's sad metropolis."

The sea-faring Greek places the netherworld far west, in the untraveller world.

"‡ All the day long the silvery foam we clave,
Wind in the well-stretched canvass following free,
Till the sun stooped beneath the western wave,
And darkness veiled the spaces of the sea.
Then to the liminary land came we
Of the sea-river, streaming deep, where dwell
Shrouded in gloom and mist continually,
The people, from sweet light secluded well,
The dark Cimmerian tribes who skirt the realms of hell."

Settled in India the Indo-Aryans passed through three stages of intellectual and material advancement. At these we must glance in order to note the position of the Rāmāyan. They may be called the prosopopœic, the heroic, and the theoretic. These three stages, or periods of growth, are not so strictly exclusive, as not sometimes to overlap each other. The essential ingredients of one may exist accidentally in another.

* Odyssey, vi., 40-45. Worsley.

† Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. iv., pp. 202-204.

‡ Odyssey, xi, 9. Worsley, cf. xii,

81, μέσσην δ' ἐν σκοπέλῳ ἐπὶ σπέος
ἡρωιδες, πρὸς ζοφὸν εἰς ἔρεβος
τετραμμένον.

To survey the earliest age we must carry ourselves back some three thousand years or more to the land of the seven rivers, the Panjáb and the banks of the Sarasvati. The country is partly tilled, but large tracks of jungle still remain, haunted by visionary terrors, and ranged over by wild tribes of men. In villages and towns priests, poets, physicians, handicraftsmen, and husbandmen, are gathered together, under chieftains, castellans, and village lords.* "Returning home in the evening through the forest, a member of one of the priestly families experiences emotions such as are sketched in the hymn to Aranyáuí"—

† "Thou seemest goddess here to stray
Forlorn amidst these trackless woods,
These dark and dreary solitudes.
Why dost thou not inquire the way
That leads to cheerful human haunts?
Is there nought here thy courage daunts?
On luscious fruits the traveller feasts,
Supplied by her, and goes his way.
Rich-scented, fragrant, full of flowers,
Her realm with various fruit is filled;
For though by hinds she is not tilled,
She drinks in sap from heavenly showers."

Often he watches through the night, fearful of savages and of spectres, and waiting the gods that usher in the day. First appear the A'svins, between midnight and the dayspring, young and beautiful, garlanded with lotuses, in a sunlike car, chasing away the spirits of darkness. "‡ Then as the first streaks of the ruddy dawn become visible in the East, the poet breaks out into an enthusiastic burst of devotion to the lovely goddess Ushas, who every morning renews her youth"—

§ "Hail, Ushas, daughter of the sky,
Who, borne upon thy shining car
By ruddy steeds from realms afar,
And ever lightening, drawest nigh.
Fair Ushas, though through years untold
Thou hast lived on, yet thou art born
Anew on each succeeding morn,
And so thou art both young and old.
Their round our generations run:
The old depart, and in their place
Springs ever up a younger race
Whilst thou, immortal, lookest on.
Bright goddess, let thy genial rays
To us bring stores of envied wealth,
In kine and steeds, and sons, with health,
And joy of heart, and length of days."

* Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v,
p. 452.

† Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v,
p. 123.

‡ A.

‡ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v,
p. 452.

§ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v,
pp. 196-98.

Next follows the generation of Agni, of manifold birth,* the child of the fire-drills, butter-fed, the waker of the dawn, priest of the gods.

† "Sprung from the mystic pair, by priestly hands
In wedlock joined, forth flashes Agni bright;
But,—O ye Heavens and Earth, I tell you right,—
The unnatural child devours the parent brands.
A swift-winged messenger, thou callest down
From heaven to crowd our hearths, the race divine,
To taste our food, our hymns to hear, benign,
And all our fondest aspirations crown.†"

"Soon after Súra (the sun) shoots up above the horizon, and receives the adoration of the delighted poet."

§ "All-seeing Sun, the stars so bright,
Which gleamed throughout the sombre night,
Now scared, like thieves, slink fast away,
Quenched by the splendour of thy ray.
Seven lucid mares thy chariot bear,
Self-yoked, athwart the fields of air,
Bright Súra, god with flaming hair.
That glow above the darkness we
Beholding, upward soar to thee,
For there among the gods thy light
Supreme is seen, divinely bright."

"In|| the hot season when the ground has been parched by long drought, and all eyes are turned to the gathering clouds in the hope that they will soon discharge their wathery treasures, Parjanya, the rain-god, is besought to send rain; and Indra, the regent of the firmament, and storm-gods, the Maruts, are supplicated to fulfil the functions which the imagination of their worshippers has assigned to them, of combating the malignant demons of the atmosphere, and compelling them to yield up the waters which they keep shut up in the clouds,"

¶ "Now bound by Sushna's spell no more,
The clouds discharge their liquid store;
And long by torrid sunbeams baked,
The plains by copious showers are slaked;

* Rig-veda, x. 5, i. *bhūri-janman*.

† Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v, pp. 221-22.

‡ Cf. Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. ii, p. 254. "The following passage from a Mongol wedding-song to the personified Fire, seems curiously to acknowledge the precedence of the ancient friction-fire made by the wooden drill, over that made by the more modern flint and steel. "Mother Ut, Queen of Fire, thou who art made from the elm that grows on the mountain-tops of Changgai-Chan and Burchatu-Chan, thou who didst come

forth when heaven and earth divided, didst come forth from the footsteps of Mother Earth, and wast formed by the King of Gods. Mother Ut, whose father is the hard steel, whose Mother is the flint, whose ancestors are the elm-trees, whose shining reaches to the sky, and pervades the earth."

§ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v, p. 161. Rig-veda 1.50.

|| Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v, p. 453.

¶ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v, pp. 135, 138, 189.

The rivers swell, and seaward sweep
 Their turbid torrents broad and deep.
 The peasant views, with deep delight
 And thankful heart, the auspicious sight. . . .
 And thou dost view with special grace,
 The fair complexioned Aryan race,
 Who own the gods, their laws obey,
 And pious homage duly pay.
 Thou giv'st us horses, cattle, gold,
 As thou didst give our sires of old.
 Thou sweep'st away the dark-skinned brood,
 Inhuman, lawless, senseless, rude,
 Who know not Indra, hate his friends,
 And spoil the race which he defends.
 Preserve us, friend, dispel our fears,
 And let us live a hundred years.
 And when our earthly course we've run,
 And gained the region of the sun,
 Then let us live in ceaseless glee,
 Sweet nectar quaffing there with thee."

Such is the Vedic age, in which the powers of nature are presented as conscious and volitional agents, and all striking outward phenomena anthropomorphised. The Vedic hymns are the only literary records in which this stage of thought and feeling is exhibited. They have no analogue in Western literature. "In * the history of the world the Veda fills a gap which no literary work in any other language could fill. It carries us back to times of which we have no records anywhere, and gives us the very words of a generation of men, of whom otherwise we could form but the vaguest estimate by means of conjectures and inferences. As long as man continues to take an interest in the history of his race, and as long as we collect in libraries and museums the relics of former ages, the first place in that long row of books which contains the records of the Aryan branch of mankind, will belong for ever to the Rig-veda." This is the age of those meteorological myths, which are in the following age to be absorbed into or to pass away before the heroic fictions in which the next stage of fancy and emotion is apt to clothe itself. In the later Vedic hymns the perennial question of the eduction of cosmos out of chaos first comes into view :

† "Nor aught nor naught existed; yon bright sky
 Was not, nor heaven's broad woof outstretched above.
 What covered all? what sheltered? what concealed?
 Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
 There was not death—hence was there naught immortal,
 There was no confine betwixt day and night ;

* Max-Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 564. Rig-veda x, 120.

† Max-Müller's History of Ancient

The only One, breathed breathless in itself,
Other than it there nothing since has been.
Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled,
In gloom profound,—an ocean without light. . .
Who knows from whence this great creation came,
Whether his will created, or was mute?
The Most High seer that is in highest heaven,
He knows it,—or perchance e'en He knows not."

Next follows the heroic period, in which semi-divine chieftains are engaged in extending Indo-Aryan supremacy throughout the country, and in unavailing struggles against the rising power of the sacerdotal class. The age of meteorological myths is past and gone. It is this period which is presented to our view in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. The *Mahābhārata* is rather an encyclopædia than an epic. It may be described as a stratified series of legends, exhibiting the gradually deposited beliefs, sentiments, and speculations, of many successive ages. Its groundwork or underlying narrative, the contest of the Pándavas and Kauravas, more ancient than the *Rāmāyana*, introduces us to Indo-Aryan settlements at Hastinápura, fifty-seven miles north-east of the modern Delhi, on the banks of an old channel of the Ganges, to Panchála* identified by Kullúka Bhatta the scholiast of the *Manu-smṛiti* with Kanyá-kubja or Kanauj, and to Kuru-kshetra the country west of the Jumna, and extending from the Sarasvatí towards Vrindá-vana and Mathurá. The main story of the *Mahābhārata* suggests a rude and unbráhmanised state of Indo-Aryan society. Its heroes are chieftains of the lunar race centring round Hastinápura.

The *Rāmāyana* on the other hand is a systematised whole, the construction of a single poet; filled up, but not overlaid, by later accretions. Settlements have been formed at Ayodhyá, and at Mithilá, under the milder and Bráhmanising chieftains of the solar line, claiming descent from Vivasvat or Súrya, the all-seeing sun-god, through Kakutstha the grandson, and Nimi, the son, of Ikshváka.

† "On Sarju's bank, of ample size,
The happy realm of Kosal lies,
With fertile length of fair champaign,
And flocks and herds and wealth of grain.
There famous in her old renown,
Ayodhyá stands, the royal town,
In bygone ages built and planned,
By sainted Manu's princely hand. . . .
She seems a painted city, fair
With chess-board line and even square,

* The high antiquity of the settlements in Panchála and Kuru-kshetra is inferrible from *Manu-smṛiti*, ii., 9, where they are included in the country of the Brahmarshis or divine Rishis.
† Griffith's *Rāmāyana*, vol. i, pp. 35-38.

And cool boughs shade the lovely lake, *
 Where weary men their thirst may slake,
 There gilded chariots gleam and shine,
 And stately piles the gods enshrine.
 The gay sleek people ever throng
 To festival and dance and song. . .
 In every street is heard the lute,
 The drum, the tabret, and the flute
 The Veda chanted soft and low,
 The ringing of the archer's bow;
 There wisest Brahmans evermore
 The flame of worship feed,
 And versed in all the Vedas' lore,
 Their lives of virtue lead."

* "The Rámáyana," remarks Professor Lassen, "in the proper action of the poem, designates, for the most part, only the north of Hindustan as Aryan. It represents Mithilá and Anga in the east as Arian countries; and regards the Kekayas in the west though dwelling beyond the Sarasvatí, as a pure Arian race; and to this tribe one of the wives of king Dasaratha belongs." . . . "Even the banks of the Ganges are represented as occupied by a savage race, the Nishádas." † "The Dandaka forest is represented as beginning immediately to the south of the Jumna. The whole country from this point to the Godávari is described as a wilderness, over which separate hermitages are scattered, while wild beasts and Rákshasas, everywhere abound."

‡ "Since thou, beloved son, hast made
 Thy home within this holy shade,
 The fiends have vexed with wilder rage
 The dwellers of the hermitage.
 In many a wild and dreadful form
 Around the trembling saints they swarm,
 With hideous shape and foul disguise
 They terrify our holy eyes.
 They make our loathing souls endure
 Insult and scorn and sights impure,
 And flocking round the altars stay
 The holy rites we love to pay . . .
 Ladle and dish away they fling,
 Our fires with floods extinguishing,
 And when the sacred flames should burn,
 They trample on each water-urn."

§ "We cannot but recognise the recollection that the south was originally a vast forest, which was first brought into cultivation by Brahmanical missions. The Rákshasas who are represented as disturbing the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify here,

* Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii,
 p. 406.

† Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii,
 p. 408.

‡ Griffith's Rámáyana, vol. ii, pp.
 456-56.

§ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii,
 p. 409. From Professor Lassen.

as often elsewhere, merely the savage tribes which placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brahmanical institutions. The only other actors who appear in the legend are the monkeys which ally themselves to Rāma, and render him assistance. This can only mean that when the Aryan Kshatriyas first made hostile incursions into the south, they were aided by another portion of the indigenous tribes. Rāma reinstates in possession of his ancestral kingdom a monkey-king who had been expelled, and in return receives his assistance." An interpretation strengthened by the exhibition of wild tribes under ultrahuman and extrahuman forms in the Homeric poems, as Cyclops and Læstrygons. By a later hypothesis the Rākshasas of Lankā are identified with the Buddhists of Ceylon. But Buddhism is a growth of the theoretic period, which we must presently glance at; the product of a metaphysical rather than of a mythopœic age, and which has always been too clear and distinct a conception to the Indian mind to have vanished into the haze of legend. The age of meteorological myths had passed away before the heroic period.

The boundary between the human and the divine is well-nigh broken down; men are half deified, the gods half humanised. Heroes, men but men who rise above the usual human level, live in familiar intercourse with the gods. Indra and the other gods through their agents, Nārada and Parvata, watch the affairs of men; often trembling lest they be unsphered from their paradise through the growing power of some Rākshasa or some ascetic rich in penance. Indra is aided against his titanic enemies by Purúravas; together with Agni, Varuna, and Yama, he competes for the hand of an earthly bride, Damayantī. He intrigues with Ahalyā. The gods and heroes in short are conceived under the same relations in the Indian as in the Grecian heroic period.

The historical residuum of the Rāmāyana is, we venture to think, adequately set out in the above citations. The most penetrating scrutiny would hardly tell us more. The task would be as thankless, as—to use the pandits' simile—the effort to express from grains of sand the oil that is so readily yielded by the sesame. We would fain remind our readers of the cautious criticism of Grote in dealing with the epic myths of Greece: * "It is a presumption far too largely and indiscriminately applied even in our own advanced age, that where much is believed, something must necessarily be true—that accredited fiction is always traceable to some basis of historical truth. The influence of imagination and feeling is not confined simply to the process of re-touching, transforming, or magnifying narratives

* Grote's History of Greece, part i, ch. 18.

originally founded on fact ; it will often create new narratives of its own, without any such preliminary basis. Where there is any general body of sentiment pervading men living in a society whether it be religious or political—love, admiration or antipathy—all incidents tending to illustrate that sentiment are eagerly welcomed, rapidly circulated, and (as a general rule) easily accredited. If real incidents are not at hand, impressive fictions will be provided to satisfy the demand. The perfect harmony of such fictions with the prevalent feeling stands in the place of certifying testimony, and causes men to hear them not merely with credence, but even delight. To call them in question and require proof is a task which cannot be undertaken without obloquy. Of such tendencies in the human mind abundant evidence is furnished by the innumerable religious legends which have acquired currency in various parts of the world, legends which derived their origin, not from special facts misreported and exaggerated, but from pious feeling pervading the society, and translated into narrative by forward and imaginative minds—legends, in which, not merely the incidents, but often even the personages are unreal, yet in which the generating sentiment is conspicuously discernible, providing its own matter as well as its own form.”

The third and last stage of mental growth in India may be called the theoretic. The Indo-Aryans spread throughout the peninsula, under thoroughly Brāhmanic institutions. They betook themselves to speculation, without that preliminary doubt of all things, which is the condition of a healthy metaphysic : and “ found no end, in wand’ring mazes lost.” Unaryan elements also had been assimilated into the system of authoritative custom. Such an element is metempsychosis, which is no part or parcel of our Aryan heritage.* No traces of the belief are to be found in the ancient Vedic poems. Transmigration and the necessity of extricating the soul from its serial transmigratory conditions, have determined the character of all the Indian systems of speculation pervading alike the evolutionism of the Sāṅkhyas, the absolutism of the Vedāntins, and the crude analysis of the Naiyāyikas. As in India from the earlier and ruder inhabitants, so in Greece from the Egyptians through the Pythagorean brotherhood and the Orphic mysteries, it comes before us in the latest utterances of the Platonic Socrates. But Socrates, unlike the Indian metaphysicians, is a doubter to the last, warning his hearers not to be misled, as he himself is likely enough misled, by an emotional perversion of the understanding. Nor does the soul with him pass after death into a state of pure indetermination, but into communion with the eternal ideas or intelligible forms.

* See Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii., pp. 8-14.

"Socrates believes and expects that the post-existence of the soul will be, as its pre-existence has been, a rational existence—a life of intellectual contemplation and commerce with the eternal ideas . . . The philosopher ought to rejoice when death comes to sever his soul altogether from his body : because he is, through all his life, struggling to sever himself from the passions, appetites, impulses, and aspirations, which grow out of the body : and to withdraw himself from the perceptions of the corporeal senses, which teach no truth, and lead only to deceit or confusion. He is constantly attempting to do what the body hinders him from doing completely—to prosecute pure mental contemplation, as the only way of arriving at truth While in the body, he feels imprisoned, unable to look for knowledge except through a narrow grating and by the deceptive media of sense. From this durance philosophy partially liberates him,—purifying his mind like the Orphic* or Dionysiac religious mysteries, from the contagion of body and sense : disengaging it, as far as may be during life, from sympathy with the body ; and translating it out of the world of sense, uncertainty, and mere opinion, into the invisible region of truth and knowledge On the contrary the soul or mind of the ordinary man which has undergone no purification and remains in close implication with the body, cannot get separated even at the moment of death The souls of despots, or of violent and rapacious men, will pass into the bodies of wolves or kites : those of the gluttonous and drunkards, into asses and such-like animals The unphilosophical man of social goodness is allowed to pass after death into the body of a bee, or an ant, instead of that of a kite or ass ; but he does not attain to the privilege of dissolving connection altogether with body."

To the same stage of the mental development of the Indo-Aryans belong, we believe, the coarse sensualism of Chārvāka, and the revolutionary phenomenalism of Buddha. Buddhist phenomenalism like the Heraclitean flux of all things, and like Hume's reduction of the universe to "various bundles of baseless appearances," but in a cruder form, appears to be the result of disappointed antecedent inquiry. Lassitude, fatalism, and acquiescence in authoritative custom, mark all the Indian schools alike. "Food, soil, climate,* and the external aspects of nature"—to borrow Buckle's all powerful machinery—had done their work upon generation after generation of the Indo-Aryan people. No Socrates, or Descartes, had arisen to burst open or silently dissolve the bonds of conventional belief. There has been in India no emancipation of the individual from the unreflective surrounding society. There has been no freedom of thought or speech, no gradual recognition of

* Grote's *Plato and the other* 160-164 ; cf. *Manu-smriti*, bk. xii. *Companions of Sokrates*, vol. ii, pp.

liberty and responsibility. The authority of the Veda traditionally interpreted, and specially of its latter portions, the Upanishads, taken as the starting-points of speculation, has been assumed as ultimate, inscrutable, and unquestionable. The beliefs in transmigration and in the worthlessness of pleasure, intellectual as well as sensual, have been unshaken. Soul or self has been reduced to zero by the abstraction of its modifications. Its modifications have been transferred to an unconscious or illusory common sensory; and exemption from modifications, that is from all cognition, all feeling, all volition, preached up as the sole end of rational pursuit. Isolation, retraction into undifferented being, annihilation of the individual, is the highest aim of man. Indian metaphysics, blind, despairing, and fatalistic, has been mere “* blasphemy against the divine beauty of life, blasphemy against the divinity of man.”

How different the course of speculation in Greece initiated by a universal doubt through the exposure of the false persuasion of knowledge by the Socratic cross-questioning dialectic; carried out to the recognition that a merely phenomenal world is nonsensical; that it is the mind that redeems the unintelligible into the intelligible, by the imposition of forms, its own heritage or its own workmanship, relations or universals, upon the formless sensibles: that in a manner mind is all that is. How different the later recognition of self as one amidst the many, permanent amidst the fluctuating, active amidst the inert, substantial as the self-presented basis of all cognitions, free as determining its own volitions.

† “Left to themselves in a world of their own, without a past, and without a future before them, they had nothing but themselves to ponder on. Struggles there must have been in India also. Old dynasties were destroyed, whole families annihilated, and new empires founded. Yet the inward life of the Hindu was not changed by these convulsions. His mind was like the lotus leaf after a shower of rain has passed over it; his character remained the same, passive, meditative, quiet, and full of faith. . . Greece and India are, indeed, the two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan man. To the Greek existence is full of life and reality; to the Hindu it is a dream, an illusion. The Greek is at home where he is born; all his energies belong to his country; he stands and falls with his party, and is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters this world as a stranger; all his thoughts are directed to another world; he takes no part even where he is driven to act; and when he sacrifices his life, it is but to be delivered from it.”

Here, then, we have arrived at the arrest of Indian progress. The divinity of doubt has never been asserted; speculation has

* Lewes's History of Philosophy,
vol. i. p. 184.

† Max-Müller's History of Ancient
Sanskrit Literature, v, pp. 16-18.

not outlived its* infancy. Let us take heed to the growing uniformity, the growing acquiescence in the shallow plausibilities of customary and popular thought among ourselves. "† That so few now dare to be eccentric, marks the chief danger of the time." "The greatness of England is now all collective; individually small, we only appear capable of anything great by our habit of combining." "A people, it appears, may be progressive for a certain length of time, and then stop: when does it stop?—when it ceases to possess individuality." "‡ The improver of knowledge absolutely refuses to acknowledge authority as such. For him scepticism is the highest of duties; blind faith the one unpardonable sin." "§ To the true reformer no institution is sacred, no belief above criticism. Everything shall conform itself to equity and reason; nothing shall be saved by its prestige. Conceding to each man liberty to pursue his own ends and satisfy his own tastes, he demands for himself like liberty; and consents to no restrictions on this, save those which other men's equal claims involve."

We have thus glanced at the three stages of Indo-Aryan advancement. The Rāmāyana belongs to the latter part of the second period. We find a foreshadowing of the third, in the colloquy of the sensualist Jāvālī and the orthodox Rāma.

|| "Hail Raghu's princely son, dismiss
A thought so weak and vain as this,
Canst thou with lofty heart endowed
'Think with the dull ignoble crowd?
For what are ties of kindred? Can
One profit by a brother man? . . .
For those—and only those—I weep
Who to the path of duty keep;
For here they suffer ceaseless woe,
And dying to destruction go.
With pious care, each solemn day,
Will men their funeral offerings pay?
See, how the useful food they waste:
He who is dead no more can taste.
If one is fed, his strength renewed
Whene'er his brother takes his food,
Then offerings to the parted pay:
Scarce will they serve him on his way.
By crafty knaves these rules were framed,
And to enforce men's gifts proclaimed;
'Give, worship, lead a life austere,
Keep lustral rites, quit pleasures here.'
There is no future life: be wise,
And do, O prince, as I advise."¶

* Arist. de Animā, iii., 8, ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ ὄντα πῶς ἐστὶ πάντα. ἡ γὰρ αἰσθητὰ τὰ, ὄντα ἢ νοητὰ. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ ἐπιστήμη μὲν τὰ ἐπιστητὰ πῶς, ἡ δ' αἰσθησις τὰ αἰσθητὰ.

† Mill's Liberty, pp. 121, 126, 127.

‡ Huxley's La Sermons, p. 18.

§ Herbert Spencer's Essays, vol. i, p. 93.

|| Griffith's Rāmāyana, vol. ii, pp. 433 sqq.

¶ Jāvālī's words that virtue's law defied"—dharmaṇṇam vachah—are explained by the Scholiast in the

Rāma's reply is an appeal to consecrated conventions, such as would satisfy the most exigent and most uninquiring of popular pietists :

* "Thy words that tempt to bliss are fair,
But virtue's garb they falsely wear.
For he from duty's path who strays
To wander in forbidden ways,
Allured by doctrine false and vain,
Praise from the good can never gain."

In the primitive basis of the Rāmāyana, Rāma stands before us rather as a hero than as a god, rising above the ordinary level of humanity, but with neither thought nor claim of divinity. He is the fictitious embodiment of all human excellence as conceived by the Indo-Aryan mind. His virtues are those mainly of self-repression, self-abnegation, and a blind devotion to customary ethical feeling. At the same time it should be remembered that in the Indian, as in the Greek, heroic period, the chieftains are half deified and the gods half humanised. Some have gone so far as to derive all the gods from the dreaded shades of the departed chieftains. This is substantially the same doctrine as that of Euhemerus, and can at the most be taken only as supplemental to the fact that the primitive gods are personified powers of nature.

The elevation of Rāma† and his brothers to a quadripartite incarnation of Vishnu is pointed out by Schlegel and Lassen as a later interpolation of unsatisfied Brahmanical orthodoxy. † "At the point where the incarnation of Vishnu in the four sons of Dasaraatha is described, the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close, when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishnu to become incarnate."

§ "The gods replied: We fear, O Lord,
Fierce Rāvan, ravener abhorred.
Be thine the glorious task, we pray,
In human form this fiend to slay.

Rāmāyana-tilaka to amount to an adoption of the doctrine of Chārvāka—*lokāyatika-matāvalambanam iti yāvat*. Cf. "There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world, nor do the actions of the four castes, the orders, &c., produce any real effect.

If the S'rāddha produces gratification to beings who are dead,

Then here, too, in the case of travellers when they start, it is needless to take provisions for the journey.

Hence it is only as a means of livelihood that Brāhmins have established here,

All these ceremonies for the dead—there is no other fruit anywhere," *Sarva-dars'ana-sangraha*, Chārvāka System, by Professor E. B. Cowell.

* Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. ii, p. 436.

† Rāmāyana, bk i, cantos xiv. sqq.
‡ Professor Lassen, in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv, p. 170.

§ Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. i, p. 86.

By thee of all the blest alone
This sinner may be overthrown.
He gained by penance long and dire
The favour of the mighty Sire.
Then he who every gift bestows
Guarded the fiend from heavenly foes,
And gave a pledge his life that kept
From all things living, man except.
On him thus armed no other foe
Than man, may deal the deadly blow.
Assume, O king, a mortal birth,
And strike the demon to the earth."

"If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, chapters lxxiv, lxxv, a scene with the earlier or Parasu-Râma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Râma to be Vishnu."

* "I know thee lord of gods ; I know
Thy changeless might laid Madhu low.
All other hands would surely fail
To bend this bow. All hail ! all hail !
See, all the gods have left the skies
To bend on thee their eager eyes.
With whose achievements none compete ;
Whose arm in war no god can meet.
No shame is mine, I ween, for thou
Lord of the Worlds, hast dimmed my brow."

At the fiery trial of Sîtâ the gods descend to vindicate her purity.

† "Ancestral shades by men revered,
In venerable state appeared,
And he from whom all riches flow,
And Yama lord who reigns below.
King Indra thousand-eyed, and he
Who wields the sceptre of the sea.
The god who shows the blazoned bull,
And Brahmâ lord most bountiful
By whose command the worlds were made.
All these on radiant cars conveyed,
Brighter than sunbeams sought the place
Where stood the prince of Raghu's race,
And from their glittering seats the best
Of blessed gods the chief addressed :
Couldst thou, the Lord of all, couldst thou,
Creator of the worlds, allow
Thy queen, thy spouse, to brave the fire
And give her body to the pyre ?
Dost thou not yet, supremely wise,
Thy heavenly nature recognise ?

* Griffith's Râmâyan, vol. i, p. 316.

† Griffith's Râmâyan, vol. v, p.p. 278 sqq.

They ceased : and Rāma thus began :
 I deem myself a mortal man.
 Of old Ikshváku's line, I spring
 From Dāsaratha Kōsal's king.
 He ceased : and Brahmá's self replied :
 O cast the idle thought aside.
 Thou art the lord Nārāyan, thou
 The god to whom all creatures bow.
 Thou art the Guide who leads aright,
 Thou Krishna of unequalled might.
 Thy hand, O Lord, the hills and plains,
 And earth with all her life sustains ;
 Thou wilt appear in serpent form,
 When sinks the earth in fire and storm.
 Queen Sītā of the lovely brows,
 Is Lakshmī thy celestial spouse.
 To free the worlds from Rāvan thou,
 Wouldst take the form thou wearest now.
 Rejoice : the mighty task is done :
 Rejoice : thou great and glorious one.
 The tyrant slain, thy labours end :
 Triumphant now to heaven ascend."

* "I should judge," writes Dr. Muir, "from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishnu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyana." The apotheosis of Rāma and Sītā, their identification by the self-existent Brahmá with Vishnu and Lakshmī, in the preceding extract, bears all the marks of a theological interpolation.

It is impossible to fix the date of the Rāmāyana. † "It has been a standing reproach against our studies, that it is impossible to find anything historical in Indian literature. To a certain extent that reproach is well-founded ; and this accounts no doubt for the indifference with which Sanskrit literature is regarded by the public at large. We may admire the delicate poetry of Kālidāsa, the philosophical vigour of Kapila, the voluptuous mysticism of Jayadeva, and the epic simplicity of Vyāsa and Vālmīki, but as long as their works float before our eyes like the mirage of a desert, as long as we are unable to tell what real life, what period in the history of a nation they reflect, there is something wanting to engage our sympathies in the same manner as they are engaged by the tragedies of Æschylus, or the philosophical essays of Cicero."

Marks of the high antiquity of the Rāmāyana are nevertheless not wanting. It was not written—no real epic belongs to a reading and writing age—but transmitted orally. Primitive versification is a kind of *memoria technica*. Like the Homeric poems it had its rhapsodists.

* Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv, p. 178.

† Max-Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p.p. 63 & 64.

* "When to the end the tale was brought,
Rose in the sage's mind the thought :
Now who throughout this earth will go,
And tell it forth that all may know ?
As thus he mused with anxious breast,
Behold in hermit's raiment dressed,
Kúsa and Lava came to greet
Their master and embrace his feet. . .
And so the great Rámāyan fraught
With lore divine, to these he taught :
The lay, whose verses sweet and clear *
Take with delight the listening ear. . .
Great joy to all who hear they bring
Sweet to recite, and sweet to sing. . .
When half the hermit's grace to gain,
And half because they loved the strain,
The youths within their hearts had stored
The poem that his lips outpoured,
Válmiki kissed then on the head,
As at his feet they bowed, and said :
Recite ye this heroic song
In tranquil shades where sages throng :
Recite it where the good resort,
In lowly home, and royal court."

† The Vēdic Rishis are said to have seen their hymns. Like the Hebrew seers they gazed upon the things revealed. In like manner Válmiki is described as having seen all that he narrates.

‡ "For holy thought and fervent rite
Had so refined his keener sight
That by his sanctity his view,
The present, past, and future knew,
And he with mental eye could grasp,
Like fruit within his fingers clasp,
The life of Rama, great and good,
Roaming with Sita in the wood."

There is no mention of the self-immolation of widows ; already an ancient usage in the time of Alexander.

It is later apparently than the compilation known as the Laws of Manu, the description of an ideally perfect state of society as it should be from the Bráhmanical point of view.

§ Texts of the Manu-smṛiti are often cited in the Rámáyana.

There is no trustworthy mention of Buddhism. That, for instance in the hundred and ninth canto of the second book.

We rank the Buddhist with the thief,
And all his impious crew,
Who share his sinful disbelief,
And hate the right and true.

* Griffith's Rámāyan, vol. i, p.p. 30, 31. in Manu ii 2; quoted in Ram. ii, 21; 58; Manu vii, 4; Rám. iii, 40, 12;

† See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv, p. 441. Manu vii, 20; Rám. ii, 67, 21; Manu viii, 84; Rám. iv, 18, 15; Manu viii,

‡ Griffith's Rámāyan, vol. i, p.p. 24 & 25. 316; Rám. iv, 18, 32; Manu ix, 138 Rám. ii, 107, 12.

§ Instances of this we have found

has all the appearance of an interpolation. * "The verses in a different metre," writes Mr. Griffith, "with which some cantos end, are all to be regarded with suspicion. Schlegel regrets that he did not exclude them all from his edition. These lines are manifestly spurious."

The language of the Rāmāyan is characterised by the frequent † omission of the augment and other archaic forms.

Vālmīki is the traditional, though not the real, inventor of the *sloka*.

Often as the tale of Rāma and Sītā has been told, we cannot but essay once more to revive the familiar scenes; availing ourselves of what we have at length in Mr. Griffith's version, a faithful and artistic exhibition of the whole Rāmāyan.

Children, and long life, and cattle, and gold, were the desires of the Kshatriya. Now in Ayodhyā

‡ "There reigned a king of name revered,
To country, and to town, endeared,
Great Dasaratha, good and sage,
Well read in scripture's holy page.
Upon his kingdom's weal intent,
Mighty and brave and provident;
The pride of old Ikshvāku's seed
For lofty thought and righteous deed.
And ruled his city rich and free
Like Indra's Amāravatī.
And worthy of so fair a place
There dwelt a just and happy race
With troops of children blest.
Each man contented sought no more.
Nor longed with envy for the store
By richer friends possessed.
High-souled were all. The slanderous word,
The boastful lie, were never heard.
Each man was constant to his vows,
And lived devoted to his spouse.
No other love his fancy knew,
And she was tender, kind, and true.
Her dames were fair of form and face,
With charm of art, and gentle grace;
With modest raiment, simply neat,
And winning manners soft and sweet.
The twice-born sages whose delight,
Was scripture's page and holy rite,
Their calm and settled course pursued,
Nor sought the menial multitude."

Childless, Dasaratha, like many another ancient Rājā, sues the favour of the gods with a horse-sacrifice.

* Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. ii, p. 440
note.

† *Ad-abhāva ārshah* Scholiast.

‡ Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. i, pp.
39, sqq.

* "Long had his anxious bosom wrought,
And as he pondered rose the thought :
A votive steed 'twere good to slay,
So might a son the gift repay."

The hermit Rishya-'sringa is allured to conduct the rite ; all things are made ready ; and the horse let loose for the customary twelve months to roam at will.

† "The circling year had filled its course,
And back was brought the wandering horse.
Then upon Sarju's northern strand,
Began the rite the king had planned."

‡ "The steed devoted to the host
Of gods, the gem they honour most,
Was duly sprinkled. Then the queen
Kausalya with delighted mien,
With reverent steps around him paced,
And with sweet wreaths the victim graced ;
Then with three swords in order due,
She smote the steed with joy, and slew.
That night the queen, a son to gain,
With calm and steady heart was fain
By the dead charger's side to stay
From evening till the break of day."

In due time four sons are born to the king :—

§ "Kausalya bore an infant blest
With heavenly marks of grace impressed ;
Rāma, the universe's lord,
A prince by all the worlds adored.
New glory queen Kausalya won
Reflected from her splendid son.
So Aditi shone more and more,
The mother of the gods, when she
The king of the immortals bore,
The thunder-wielding deity.
The lotus-eyed, the beauteous boy,
He came fierce Rāvan to destroy ;
From half of Vishnu's vigour born,
He came to help the worlds forlorn.
And queen Kaikeyi bore a child
Of truest valour, Bharat styled,
With every princely virtue blest,
One fourth of Vishnu manifest.
Sumitra too a noble pair,
Called Lakshman and S'atrughna, bare,
Of high emprise, devoted, true,
Sharers in Vishnu's essence too."

To the court of Dasaratha, while the princes are yet striplings, comes the sainted Viśvāmitra. Weary years of mortification and

* P. 47.

† Griffith's Rāmāyan vol. i, p. 73.

‡ P. 77.

§ P. 105. This passage is among

those pointed out by Dr. Muir as later additions to the poem. See Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv, p. 175.

superhuman pangs had raised him from a Kshatriya to a priestly sage. He takes Rāma and Lakshmana from the reluctant king to preserve an intended sacrifice from the assaults of the Rākshsas. Presented with celestial weapons Rāma expels the intruders from the groves of Viśvāmitra. The saint bids the brothers to accompany him to Mithilā, where Janaka the king is about to perform a sacrifice.

* "Janak the king who rules the land
Of fertile Mithilā has planned
A noble sacrifice, and we
Will thither go the rite to see.
Thou, prince of men, shalt with us go,
And there behold the wondrous bow,
Terrific, vast, of matchless might
Which, splendid at the famous rite,
The gods assembled gave the king."

The journey is spent in discoursing of the legendary past. At the junction of the Son and the Ganges, Viśvāmitra relates the birth and earthward descent of Gangā, the three-pathed, the purifier of the worlds, who waters heaven, and earth, and hell. Bhagīratha by his penance brought her down from heaven, S'iva sustaining on his head the falling waters.

† "He stood upon the lofty crest
That crowns the Lord of Snow,
And bade the river of the blest
Descend on earth below.
Himālaya's child, adored of all,
The haughty mandate heard,
And her proud bosom, at the call,
With furious wrath was stirred.
Down from her channel in the skies,
With awful might she sped,
With a giant's rush, in a giant's size,
On S'iva's holy head.
He calls me, in her wrath she cried,
And all my flood shall sweep
And whirl him in its whelming tide
To hell's profoundest deep.
He held the river on his head,
And kept her wandering, where,
Dense as Himālaya's woods were spread
The tangles of his hair.
No way to earth she found, ashamed,
Though long and sore she strove,
Condemned, until her pride were tamed,
Amidst his locks to rove.
There many lengthening seasons through
The wildered river ran:
Bhagīrath saw it, and anew
His penance dire began.

* Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. i, p. 157.

† Pp. 192 sqq.

Then Siva for the hermit's sake
Bade her long wanderings end,
And sinking into Vindu's lake
Her weary waves descend.
On Siva's head descending first
A rest the torrents found;
Then down in all their might they burst
And roared along the ground:
On countless glittering scales the beam
Of rosy morning flashed,
Where fish and dolphins through the stream
Fallen and falling dashed.
Then bards who chant celestial lays,
And nymphs of heavenly birth,
Flocked round upon that flood to gaze
That streamed from sky to earth.
The gods themselves from every sphere
Incomparably bright,
Borne in their golden cars drew near
To see the wondrous sight.
The cloudless sky was all aflame
With the light of a hundred suns,
Where'er the shining chariots came
That bore those holy ones.
So flashed the air with crested snakes
And fish of every hue,
As when the lightning's glory breaks
Through fields of summer blue.
And white-foam clouds and silver spray
Were wildly tossed on high,
Like swans that urge their homeward way
Across the autumn sky.
Now ran the river calm and clear
With current strong and deep;
Now slowly broadened to a mere
Or scarcely seemed to creep.
Now o'er a length of sandy plain
Her tranquil course she held;
Now rose her waves and sank again,
By reflux waves repelled."

Passing by the hermitage of Gautama, and thence towards the north-east, they reach the sacrificial enclosure of King Janaka. At Mithilá, Janaka shews to the brothers the bow of Siva, the great heirloom of his family.

* "Then royal Janak spoke in turn:
O best of saints, the story learn,
Why this famed bow, a mighty prize,
A treasure in my palace lies.
A monarch, Devarat by name,
Who sixth from ancient Nimi came,
Held it as ruler of the land,
A pledge in his successive hand."

This bow the mighty Rudra* bore,
 At Daksha's sacrifice of yore,
 When carnage of the immortals stained,
 The rite that Daksha had ordained.
 Then as the gods sore wounded fled,
 Victorious Rudra, mocking, said.
 Because, O Gods, ye gave me naught,
 When I my rightful portion sought.
 Your dearest parts I will not spare,
 But with my bow your frames will tear ;
 The sons of heaven in wild alarm
 Soft flatteries tried his rage to charm.
 Then Bhava, lord whom gods adore
 Grew kind and friendly as before,
 And every torn and mangled limb,
 Was safe and sound restored by him.
 Thenceforth this bow, the gem of bows,
 That freed the god of gods from foes,
 Stored by our great forefathers lay
 A treasure and a pride for aye.
 Once, as it chanced, I ploughed the ground,
 When sudden, 'neath the share was found,
 An infant springing from the earth,
 Named Sítá from her secret birth.
 In strength and grace the maiden grew,
 My cherished daughter, fair to view.
 I vowed her, of no mortal birth,
 Meet prize for noblest hero's worth.
 In strength and grace the maiden grew,
 And many a monarch came to woo.
 To all the princely suitors I
 Gave, mighty saint, the same reply :
 I give not thus my daughter ; she
 * Prize of heroic worth shall be.
 To Mithilá the suitors pressed
 Their power and might to manifest.
 To all who came with hearts aglow
 I offered Siva's wondrous bow. †
 Not one of all the royal band
 Could raise or take the bow in hand.
 Enraged thereat, the warriors met,
 With force combined my town beset.
 Stung to the heart with scorn and shame
 With war and threats they madly came,
 Besieged my peaceful walls, and long
 To Mithilá did grievous wrong."

* The worship of Siva or Mahádeva appears to have been borrowed from the pre-existent unáryan population. "The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with 'Rudra.'" The story of Siva at the sacrifice of Daksha appears to symbolise the

struggle for the admission of this god to the worship of the conquering Indo-Aryans. See Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv., pp. 393 sqq.

† Draupadí, in the Mahabbárata, is in like manner given as the prize of successful archery to Arjuna. Cf Odyssey, bk. xxi. The disappointed suitors of Indumatí behave more peaceably.—Raghu-vansa, canto vii, p. 3.

The bow is brought. Rāma bends and breaks it, and wins the hand of Sītā the furrow-born.

* "Then Raghu's son, as if in sport,
Before the thousands of the court,
The weapon by the middle raised,
That all the crowd in wonder gazed.
With steady arm the string he drew
Till burst the mighty bow in two.
As snapped the bow, an awful clang,
Loud as the shriek of tempests, rang.
The earth, affrighted, shook amain,
As when a hill is rent in twain.
Then, senseless at the fearful sound,
The people fell upon the ground :
None save the king, the princely pair
And the great saint, the shock could bear.
When woke to sense the stricken train,
And Janak's soul was calm again,
With suppliant hands and reverent head,
These words, most eloquent, he said :
My child, to royal Rāma wed,
New glory on our line will shed :
And true my promise will remain
That hero's worth the bride should gain.
Dearer to me than light and life,
My Sītā shall be Rāma's wife."

Dasaratha is bidden to the wedding, and repairs to Mithilā with his sons Bharata and Satrugna. Lakshmana marries Urmilā, a sister of Sītā, and Bharata and Satrugna marry the daughters of Kūsadhvaja the brother of king Janaka. They return to Ayodhyā. Bharata is sent to the court of Asvapati, the father of his mother Kaikeyī at Girivraja. Through the wiles of her hump-backed handmaid Mantharā, Kaikeyī obtains from Dasaratha, in fulfilment of a rash promise, the banishment of Rāma and installation of her own son Bharata. Rāma sets out on his fourteen years' wanderings in the Dandaka forest, accompanied by Lakshmana. Sītā insists on being allowed to follow him.

† "Thou must not here thy wife forsake,
And to the woods thy journey make,
Whether stern penance, grief and care,
Or rule of heaven await thee there.
Nor shall fatigue my limbs distress
When wandering in the wilderness :
Each path which near to thee I tread
Shall seem a soft luxurious bed :
The reeds, the bushes where I pass,
The thorny trees, the tangled grass
Shall feel, if only thou be near,
Soft to my touch as skins of deer. . .

* Griffith's *Rāmāyan*, vol. i, p. 282. † Griffith's *Rāmāyan*, vol. ii, p. 89.

As there I live on flowers and roots
 And every season's kindly fruits,
 I will not for my mother grieve,
 My sire, my home, or all I leave—
 I will not cause thee grief or care,
 Nor be a burden hard to bear,
 With thee is heaven, where'er the spot ;
 Each place is hell where thou art not."

Reaching Srīngavera on the Ganges, he sends back Sumantra, his faithful charioteer, with a tender message to his father.

* The honoured king my father greet,
 And thus for me my words repeat :
 I, Sītā, Lakshman, sorrow not,
 O monarch, for our altered lot :
 The same to us, if here we roam,
 Or if Ayodhyā be our home,
 The fourteen years will quickly fly,
 The happy hour will soon be nigh
 When thou, my lord, again shalt see,
 Lakshman, the Maithil dame, and me.
 Thine having soothed, O charioteer,
 My father and my mother dear,
 Let all the queens my message learn,
 But to Kaikeyī chiefly turn.
 With loving blessings from the three,
 From Lakshman, Sītā, and from me.
 My mother queen Kāūsalyā, greet,
 With reverence to her sacred feet.
 And add this prayer of mine : O king,
 Send quickly forth and Bharat bring,
 And set him on the royal throne
 Which thy decree has made his own.
 When he upon the throne is placed,
 When thy fond arms are round him laced,
 Thine aged heart will cease to ache
 With bitter pangs for Rāma's sake.
 And say to Bharat : See thou treat
 The queens with all observance meet :
 What care the king receives, the same
 Show thou alike to every dame.
 Obedience to thy father's will
 Who chooses thee the throne to fill,
 Will earn for thee a store of bliss
 Both in the world to come and this."

At Srīngavera they are the guests of Guha a chieftain of the Nishādas. Thence they pass to the junction of the Jumna and the Ganges at Prayāga, where stood the hermitage of Bharadvāja. Thence they make their way through the forest to the hill Chitrakūta, where Lakshmana builds a leafy hut, and they abide for many days amidst the woods.

“ See Lakshman in the leafy trees
Where'er they make their home,
Down hangs the work of labouring bees,
The ponderous honeycomb.
In the fair wood before us spread
The startled wild-cock cries : *
Hark, where the flowers are soft to tread,
The peacock's voice replies.
Where elephants are roaming free,
And sweet birds' songs are loud,
The glorious Chitrakûta see :
His peaks are in the cloud.
On fair smooth ground he stands displayed,
Begirt by many a tree :
O brother, in that holy shade
How happy shall we be.”

At the sight of the empty chariot king Dasaratha is heart-broken. He tells how having in his youth unwittingly slain the son of a hermit, a curse had been laid upon him that he should perish of grief for the loss of his son, and dies. His queens worn out with weeping and watching at last fall asleep.

† “ And now the night had past away,
And brightly dawned another day ;
The minstrels, trained to play and sing,
Flocked to the chamber of the king :
Bards who their gayest raiment wore,
And heralds famed for ancient lore :
And singers, with their songs of praise,
Made music in their several ways
There as they poured their blessings choice,
And hailed their king with hand and voice,
Their voices with a swelling roar
Echoed through court and corridor.
The swelling concert woke a throng
Of sleeping birds to life and song ;
Some in the branches of the trees,
Some caged in halls and galleries .
Nor was the soft string music mute ;
The gentle whisper of the lute,
And blessings sung by singers skilled
The palace of the monarch filled.
Eunuchs and dames of life unstained,
Each in the arts of waiting trained,
Drew near attentive as before,
And crowded to the chamber door . . .
And many a maid, pure, young, and fair,
Her load of early offerings bare,
Cups of the flood which all revere,
And sacred things, and toilet gear,
There anxious in their long array,
All waited till the shine of day :
But when the king nor rose nor spoke,
Doubt and alarm within them woke,

Skilled in the lore of dreaming, they
 First touched the bed on which he lay.
 But none replied: No sound was heard,
 Nor hand, nor head, nor body stirred.
 They trembled, and their dread increased,
 Fearing his breath of life had ceased,
 And bending low their heads they shook
 Like the tall reeds that fringe the brook.
 In doubt and terror down they knelt,
 Looked on his face, his cold hand felt,
 And then the gloomy truth appeared
 Of all their hearts had darkly feared."

On his return from Girivraja Bharata is filled with horror, and bitterly upbraids his mother Kaikeyi. He refuses to supplant Rāma, and sets out for the forest with an army, with the purpose of reinstating Rāma, and of undergoing himself the fourteen years' exile in the jungle. At Prayāga he and his army are feasted at the hermitage by Bharadvāja.

* His ministers and household priest
 Sat by degrees from chief to least,
 Then sat the captain of the host,
 And all the men he honoured most.
 Then when the saint his order gave,
 Each river with enchanted wave
 Rolled milk and curds divinely sweet
 Before the princely Bharat's feet.
 And dwellings fair on either side,
 With gay white plaster beautified,
 Their heavenly roofs were seen to lift,
 The Brāhman Bharadvāja's gift.
 Here men the foaming wine-cup quaffed,
 Here drank of milk full many a draught.
 And tasted meats of every kind
 Well dressed, whatever pleased their mind.
 Nor did the grooms forget to feed
 Camel, and mule, and ox and steed,
 For there were stores of roasted grain,
 Of honey, and of sugar-cane.
 So fast the wild excitement spread
 Among the warriors Bharat led,
 That all the mighty army through
 The groom no more his charger knew,
 And he who drove might seek in vain
 To tell his elephant again."

Arrived at Chitrakūta he is unable to persuade Rāma to assume the kingdom. The exhortations of the sensualist Jāvāli are also thrown away. Rāma is bent on redeeming his father's promise to Kaikeyi. Bharata accepts the kingdom as a trust, making

obeisance to the shoes of Rāma,* which he carries back with him to represent the rightful but absent king.

“ † The rule and all affairs of state
I to these shoes will delegate.
And if, O tamer of thy foes,
When fourteen years have reached their close,
I see not thee that day return,
The kindled fire my frame shall burn.”

Bharata returns to live outside the city of Ayodhyā as an ascetic till Rāma comes back again. Many are the adventures of Rāma, Lakshmana, and Sītā in the forest, into which they wander farther and farther. At last the Rākshasī Sūrpanakhā meets with them, and falls in love with Rāma. Her advances are rejected; she assaults Sītā, and is mutilated by Lakshmana. Baffled at first in her schemes of revenge, she betakes herself to her brother Rāvana, the Rākshasa king of Lankā.

“ ‡ She fled in anger and dismay
To Lankā, seat of Rāvan's sway.
There on a seat of royal state
Exalted sat the potentate,
Begirt with counsellor and peer,
Like Indra with the storm-gods near. . .
§ A score of arms, ten necks had he,
His royal gear was brave to see.
In stature like a mountain height,
His arms were strong, his teeth were white,
And all his frame of massive mould
Seemed lazulite adorned with gold.
A hundred seams impressed each limb
Where Vishnu's arm had wounded him,
And chest and shoulder bore the print
Of sword and spear and arrow dint,
Where every god had struck a blow
In battle with the giant foe.”

Instigated by Sūrpanakhā, and aided by Mārīcha, who under the form of a golden deer led Rāma and afterwards Lakshmana away from their dwelling, Rāvana, first under the form of a hermit, and then undisguised, succeeds in carrying away Sītā in his aerial car Pushpaka, taken by him aforetime from his brother Kuvera the god of wealth, to his city of Lankā.

* According to Kālidāsa he craved Rāma's shoes to make them the tutelary deities of the kingdom: *gayāche pādruke paschāt kartum rājyadhidevate*. —Raghuvansa, xii, 17.

† Griffith's Ramayan, vol. ii, p. 453.

‡ Vol. iii., p. 147.

§ Rāvana assumes ten heads and twenty arms only in battle and on other terrific occasions. So the Scholiast

on Rāmāyana v. 10, 21: *atra dribhujakatva-kathanāt yuddhā-dikāla eva vinsati-bhūjatvam dāsa-sirshatvan cheti bodhayam*. See also Rāmāyana-tilaka on Ramayana v, 22, 27; v, 49, 6. Rāvana was not so unprepossessing a wooer therefore of Sītā as we might otherwise have supposed.

* "Sublime in air his course he took
 O'er wood and rock and lake and brook.
 He passed at length the sounding sea
 Where monstrous creatures wander free,
 Seat of lord Varun's ancient reign,
 Controller of the eternal main.
 The angry waves were raised and tossed,
 As Rávan with the lady crossed,
 And fish and snake in wild unrest
 Showed flashing fin and gleaming crest.
 Then from the blessed troops who dwell
 In air, celestial voices fell :
 O ten-necked king, they cried, attend :
 This guilty deed will bring thine end."

Ráma's friend Jatáyus, the vulture king, had striven hard to rescue Sítá. He is found dying from the struggle by the two brothers, whom he informs of the name of Sítá's, ravisher. Journeying southwards with Lakshmana in search of Sítá, Ráma meets the fiend Kabandha :

† "There stood before their wondering eyes
 A fiend broad-chested, huge of size,
 A vast misshapen trunk they saw
 In height surpassing nature's law.
 It stood before them dire and dread
 Without a neck, without a head.
 Tall as some bill aloft in air,
 Its limbs were clothed with bristling hair,
 And deep below the monster's waist
 His vast misshapen mouth was placed,
 His form was huge, his voice was loud
 As some dark-tinted thunder-cloud.
 A brilliance as of gushing flame,
 Beneath long lashes, dark and keen
 The monster's single eye was seen."

He is slain by Ráma ‡ re-appears in a celestial shape, and advises him to travel southwards to the dwellings of Sugriva, the chief of the Vánaras, silvans or apes.

§ "To him, O Raghu's son, to him
 Naught in the world is dark or dim,
 Where'er the mighty day-god gleams
 Resplendent with a thousand beams.
 He over rocky height and hill,
 Through gloomy cave, by lake and rill,
 Will with his Vánars seek the prize
 And tell thee where thy lady lies."

* Griffith's *Rámayan*, vol. iii, p. 253.

† Griffith's *Rámayan*, vol. iii, p. 324.

‡ According to later Indian notions death at the hands of Ráma or Krishna secures for the slain that highest end

of aspiration, exemption from transmigratory conditions, absorption into the undifferentiated real.

§ Griffith's *Rámayan*, vol. iii, p. 339.

Rāma and Lakshmanā are carried by Hanumat into the presence of Sugrīva. Sugrīva tells them of the rape of Sītā, and shows them the upper garment and ornaments of Sītā which she had dropped as tokens in her flight. Sugrīva had been deposed by his brother Bāli, whom now, emboldened by the alliance of Rāma, he challenges to single combat. Sugrīva is about to fall, when Rāma* slays Bāli with an arrow. Sugrīva is reinstated in his city of Kishkindhā. Rāma and Lakshmana retire to the mountain Piasravana. As soon as the rains are over Sugrīva sends out his armies to search for Sītā through all quarters of the earth. From the east, the west, and the north, they return without tidings. The army of the south is long foiled and gives itself over to despair, till meeting with Sampāti the brother of Jatāyus they learn that Sītā is a captive at Lankā. Hanumat flying through the air, enters Lankā and sees and consoles Sītā. Rāma marches southward with Sugrīva and his army of silvans to deliver Sītā. Rāvana is advised by his righteous brother Vibhīshana to restore her. Vibhīshana's counsel is rejected and he goes over to the camp of Rāma and Sugrīva. Nala, the son of Visvakarman the architect of the gods, is charged with the construction of a pier across the straits.

† "Rocks huge as autumn clouds bound fast
With cordage from the shore were cast,
And fragments of each riven hill,
And trees whose flowers adorned them still.
Wild was the tumult, loud the din,
As ponderous rocks went thundering in.
Ere set of sun, so toiled each crew,
Ten leagues and four the structure grew ;
The labours of the second day
Gave twenty more of ready way,
And on the fifth when sank the sun,
The whole stupendous work was done.
O'er the broad way the Vānars sped,
Nor swayed it with their countless tread."

Many and dire contests ensue. At length Rāvana falls transfixed by Rāma with a celestial arrow :

‡ "Soft from celestial minstrels came
The sound of music and acclaim.
Soft, fresh, and cool, a rising breeze
Brought odours from the heavenly trees,
And ravishing the sight and smell
A wondrous rain of blossoms fell :
And voices breathed round Raghu's son ;
Champion of gods, well done, well done."

* The interposition of Rāma is treacherous, a stain upon his character, glossed over more than once by the Scholiast, who as a theologian identifying Rāma with the absolute spirit, says that such actions as mere illusory attributions cannot affect his real nature
† Griffith's Rāmāyan, vol. v, p. 66.
‡ Vol. 5, p. 256.

Vibhishan is installed in the kingdom of Lanká. Sítá is regained ; but suffering from the unjust suspicions of Ráma, she enters the flames :

* "The word was passed, the wood was piled,
And fain to die stood Janak's child.
She slowly paced around her lord
The gods with reverent act adored,
Then raising suppliant hands the dame .
Prayed humbly to the Lord of Flame :
As this fond heart by virtue swayed
From Raghu's son has never strayed,
So, universal witness, Fire,
Protect my body on the pyre.
As Raghu's son has idly laid
This charge on Sítá, hear and aid."

Her prayer is heard.

† "The circling flames were backward rolled,
And, raising in his gentle hold
Alive, unharmed, the Maithil dame,
The Lord of Fire embodied came.
Fair as the morning was her sheen,
And gold and gems adorned the queen.
Her form in crimson robe arrayed,
Her hair was bound in glossy braid.
Her wreath was fresh and sweet of scent
Undimmed was every ornament.
Then standing close to Ráma's side,
The universal witness cried :
From every blot and blemish free
Thy faithful queen returns to thee."

Ráma returns with Sítá and Lakshmana, is conducted with pomp into Ayodhyá by his brother Bharata.

‡ "Sublime on elephants they rode
Whose gilded girths with jewels glowed,
Attended close by thousands more
Gay with the gear and flags they bore.
A thousand chiefs their steeds bestrode,
Their glittering cars a thousand showed,
And countless hosts in rich array
Pursued on foot their eager way.
Veiled from the air with silken screens
In litters rode the widowed queens."

Bharata restores his trust :

§ "Then Bharat placed, in duty taught,
On Ráma's feet the shoes he brought :
My king, he cried, receive again
The pledge preserved through years of pain,
The rule and lordship of the land
Entrusted to my weaker hand."

* Griffith's Rámáyan, vol. v, p. 276.

† P. 304.

‡ P. 281.

§ P. 307.

Rāma is consecrated king with the usual aspersion of holy water.

* "Ten thousand years Ayodhyā blest
With Rāma's rule had peace and rest.
No widow mourned her murdered mate,
No house was ever desolate.
The happy land no murrain knew ;
The flocks and herds increased and grew.
The earth her kindly fruits supplied,
No harvest failed, no children died.
Unknown were want, disease, and crime
So calm, so happy was the time."

Many good things are laid up, a later interpolating poet tells us, for those that hear the Rāmāyana—

† "Who'er this noble poem reads
That tells the tale of Rāma's deeds,
Good as the scriptures, he shall be
From every sin and blemish free.
Whoever reads the saving strain,
With all his kin the heavens shall gain.
Brahmans who read shall gather hence
The highest praise for eloquence ;
The warrior o'er the land shall reign,
The merchant lack in trade obtain ;
And Sūdras listening ne'er shall fail
To reap advantage from the tale."

With our scanty faith we cannot promise so much to the reader of the English Rāmāyana, but we can promise him a faithful and lively picture of ancient Indian life. The Rāmāyana like all other oriental poems is a luxuriant garden, often a rank jungle, which requires much pruning and clearing before we can expatiate in it with pleasure. Still it abounds in flowers and fruit.

The eastern poet, as we all know, omits no item in his picture, no link in the chain of his narrative. As interpreting between the eastern and the western, the ancient and the modern, mind, Mr. Griffith has retrenched, but with a sparing hand, superfluous items and redundant links. The modern reader fills in from a mind well stored and formed, much that the ancient poet had to bring before the imagination of his hearers. Suggestion often takes for us the place of descriptive imagery. Our associations have been multiplied, and the transition of our thoughts accelerated.

The Rāmāyana is nevertheless set out to us in Mr. Griffith's version in its integrity. The whole fabric stands before us. It is set before us also in its original simplicity. No modern thought or feeling unconsciously interwoven, impairs the fidelity of the representation ; and we are enabled to contemplate the great Indo-Aryan epic in its native strength and weakness, beauty and deformity, tediousness and exaggeration. The octosyllabic metre

* P. 314.

† Vol 1, p. 17.

which he has selected admirably renders the Sanskrit sloka, simple and monotonous. All the resources of a richly stored memory and of a severe taste, have been applied to the relief of the too often wearisome uniformity of the original. The style is everywhere stamped with that simplicity which is the latest gift of art.

Almost all that is valuable in modern criticism, as regards the Rámáyana, has been brought together by Mr. Griffith in his preface and appendixes. In our remarks, wishing his work to speak for itself, we have refrained, as much as might be, from what our Indian friends would call a *pishta-peshana*, a grinding of the ground, a *charvita charvana* a chewing of the chewed. We have borne in mind how unfruitful is the effort "to gild refined gold, to paint the lily."

A. E. GOUGH.

ART. X.—THE PORTUGUESE IN WESTERN INDIA.

By G. W. CLINE, LL.D. GLASGOW, F.G.S., &C., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
MIDDLE TEMPLE.*

1. *Orme's Historical Fragments.*
2. *Recollections of the Deccan.* By an Officer of Cavalry. Vol. I.
3. *History of British India.* By Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E.

IT would not be too much to assert that of all the histories which narrate events before the rise of the British power in the East, when Fort St. George had not been built; when only a few factories standing near the obscure village of Chuttannttee, now covered by princely mansions and stately houses, then indicated the British Settlement on the banks of the Hooghly; when Fort William had not yet been erected into a citadel; when the Presidency of Surat had not been transferred to Bombay; when French power had not risen to its zenith in India; when the Portuguese and Dutch had first settled on the Western Coast; there are few which are of greater interest than that of Orme. As a writer Mr. Robert Orme's works† have enjoyed a deserved popularity. As an intimate friend and associate of Lord Clive, and as a member of the Madras Council, his narration of the wars for supremacy in India, between the French, the Portuguese, and the English, will still be read with the interest which should deservedly attach to the narratives of an eye witness. Nevertheless it will not be wrong to state that neither his *Historical Fragments*, nor his *History of the Military Transactions of the British in India*, is read by even readers who take an interest in Indian history. Nor is it unlikely that if there had been the same amount of public criticism in the eighteenth century as in the nineteenth, his history would not have attained to its third edition. That it never became a popular book is not surprising. Its strange spelling and obscure diction,‡ its harsh phrases and a style neither elegant nor perspicuous, its

* The following articles were contributed to the pages of this Review by the present writer. Owing to his absence in England his name was left blank in the Index:—

1. The Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.
2. The Central Provinces.
3. The Revenue Survey.
4. The Annals of our Connection with India, ending with the Embassy of Sir T. Roe.

5. Indian Law Reform, &c.

† History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindoostan from the year 1745. Third Edition. 1780.

Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire during the reign of Aurungzebe.

‡ Mahrattas, Mr. Orme invariably spells Morattoes. Mahomedans he frequently calls Moors.

solecisms in grammar and an absence of anything like a reflective faculty in the writer, have done more than any adverse criticism could have done to mar his fame as a historian. His books are now consigned to the repose of the upper shelves of public libraries, and occupy the same range which consigns to oblivion the historical volumes of Henry Murray, of Hakluyt, of Stewart, of Bruce, and of Hamilton, whose histories and whose names are alike forgotten. Those, however, who have the courage to face Mr. Orme's closely printed and ponderous volumes, and to wade through a dry narrative of events of an obscure period of the history of India, will be amply repaid for their trouble. Few events have been so striking, or have left a more lasting impress on the destiny of India for good, as those by which the first conquests by the British in India had been effected. Few have been so enduring in their consequences. Yet it is not too much to say that there are few events which are not more enveloped in doubt. That Orme and his contemporaries should have found it difficult to write a history of events which transpired during that period is not much to be wondered. Such oriental chronicles which might have been in their possession, or to which they had access, were unreliable. They were more or less tinctured with romance, or adorned with the fanciful imagery, the grotesque delineations, and those wild extravagances of an oriental imagination which betray the authorship of oriental writers. Yet, if we are not mistaken, the story of the rapid rise of British supremacy in the East, even when stripped of all that coloring which time may have lent to it, and when viewed through the sober pages of such writers as Orme or Mill, will not possess less interest than events which may have attracted a greater portion of public attention, and which have had a larger niche in history allowed them. One reason, why so few narratives of early British Indian History have been written by contemporaries, is that those who took an active part in public affairs, were so much taken up themselves in battling against those evils by which they were beset, in a land where everything was strange, and in those early times so unsettled, that they had not the leisure to record the events in which they themselves played a prominent part.

It is curious to observe how rapid has been the rise of British power in the East, which gave England its supremacy over India. It has been the result, not so much of violent spoliation, as of the simple effect of industry, force of character, energy of will, integrity of purpose, and indomitable perseverance. The Mahomedan possessions in India were crumbling into decay. Intrigues abroad and factions within the palace had tended to undermine the power of the Emperor who ruled at Delhi—the feeble heir

of the great Mogul Emperor whose Empire had extended from the snowy mountains of Cashmere to the Deccan, from the Burhamputra to Candahar, India so often conquered, and so long the prize of invaders, was once again to be conquered.

"Vincitrice o vinta, sempre asserra." And yet so rapidly was that conquest effected, that no signs loomed in the distance; no foreshadowings of coming events heralded the storm. But if our conquest of the Indian Empire has been rapid, we must not forget to give some credit to those who had first assayed the conquest of the Empire, and who were to some extent our pioneers. When the Portuguese first landed on Indian soil, many years had not elapsed when one of the greatest of the Mogul Emperors had passed away—the greatest of the line of Timur: the wisest and the best of the sovereigns who ruled in Delhi. It is curious to observe, that while a new era was transpiring to engraft Western ideas on Moslem institutions in the East, in the West a new epoch had destroyed the last vestiges of Moslem influence in Spain. Within ten years from the date of the establishment by charter of the East India Company, and five years after the great Akbar was carried to the marble mausoleum where his remains now lie interred, the last of the Moors had been banished from Spain. The storm of Moslem invasion which had swept so suddenly over the provinces of Spain and Portugal, and which had devastated those provinces, after the lapse of nearly nine centuries, was followed by the storm of Christian invasion which carried to the East the germs of Christianity, and which placed the Cross on the strongholds of Mahomedan power in India. And, borrowing an illustration from the fanciful fiction of the Spanish Chronicles of Bleda, the dream of King Roderick of Spain which heralded the invasion of Europe by the followers of the Crescent, might illustrate the story of the rapid conquest of the empire once governed by the Mogul by the soldiers of the Cross. The pretty fable by which Bleda illustrated the conquest of Spain by the followers of Mahomed may be made to illustrate the conquest of India by the followers of Christ. Near Toledo, writes the ancient Spanish chronicler, stands one of those* wondrous monuments of the olden time—one of those Egyptian and Chaldaic piles storied with hidden wisdom and mystic prophecy. This tower set up by Hercules of Lybia had been finished with magic art, and contained a secret which should reveal the destiny of Spain. After the lapse of several centuries King Roderick and his courtiers assayed to obtain the secret which for centuries had baffled the courage or ingenuity of his ancestors. Having passed the wondrous and massive door,

and the bronzed giant, of terrible aspect, which incessantly whirled a huge mace, the King entered a vast chamber of rare and sumptuous architecture, the walls of which were incrustated with gems—so lustrous that a radiant light spread through the room, which seemed to shine from them. Under the lofty dome which was self-supported, stood a table of alabaster, and on the table a golden casket richly set with precious stones which none but a king might open. Within the casket King Roderick found a linen cloth folded between two tablets, of copper. On unfolding it, he beheld painted on it figures of men, on horseback, of fierce demeanour clad in robes of various colors, with crossbows at their saddle backs, carrying banners and pennons with a strange device. Above them was inscribed “Rash Monarch; behold the men who are to hurl thee from thy throne and subdue thy kingdom.” And as they regarded the painting, the scroll began to extend, a faint sound of warlike tumult appeared to arise—the clash of cymbals, the neigh of steeds, the shout of the victors, the groans of the dying. The air resounded with shouts of triumph, with yells of fury; the Christians quailed before the foe; the standard of the Cross was cast down; the Crescent waved over the once fertile regions of Spain. The cloud-storm of battle seemed to spread and to envelope Europe, while King Roderick’s dominion appeared to pass from him.

If at the height of Mogul greatness, the Emperor who built that stately marble mausoleum, which still forms the proudest monument of oriental rule in India, were suffered to have any intimation of the future, whilst he surveyed for the first time the walls and screen of marble under that superb dome, studded with gems, and lustrous with its mosaics of inwrought stones; his dream would not have been less startling than the vision seen in the tower of Toledo by King Roderick and his courtiers. In exactly a century from the battle of Plassey, British power was on the ascendant from the snowy ranges of the Himalayahs to Cape Comorin, and from the mountains of the Hindoo Koosh to Assam. From the precarious tenure of a few factories on the Hooghly and at Surât, our empire has extended itself over the entire of India, embracing a population larger than that over which Cæsar or Charlemagne ruled. To the Portuguese, however, is due the praise of being the first who led the way to the final conquest of India. While the Moguls were yet establishing their power in the lower provinces of Bengal, a small band of Portuguese under the command of Vasco de Gama first landed at Calicut. From that date the first regular intercourse of the West with the East commenced: from that date the isolation of India from the communities of the West ceased. Although India was hitherto commercially isolated from the West, it was not altogether unknown before that period to the western World.

Years before the merchant ships of Phœnicia traded with the western coasts of India; Alexander had penetrated as far as the Ravi, built that memorable column which may still be seen standing amidst the mountain passes of Cabul. When in 1842 a small band of English captives, during the disastrous Afghan war, wended their way through the steep defiles and abrupt declivities of the Khyber pass, they beheld still standing the pillar which had been erected by the great Macedonian. From the subsequent establishment of the Bactrian Empire in the North-Western Frontier of India, dates the first European connection with India—a connection which did not survive through many dynasties, and which has left behind no lasting impress for good.

Our earliest accurate information of India is derived from the works of Eratosthenes. He was long in charge of the Alexandrian library. His annals of the Egyptian kings are still read. His researches in the geography of the East rendered his work valuable at a time when so little accurate information of India could be gained, and when, even in the records of sober history, much of the marvellous and much of fiction was mixed up. Several years later indeed the account given by Megasthenes of India, accounts which were afterwards accepted as correct by Strabo and by Arrian, threw fresh light upon a country which was then so little known. From the establishment of the Bactrian Empire till the first settlement of the Portuguese in India, no other connection with the West had been maintained except that commercial intercourse which subsisted between the Persians and the people of the Punjaub. A Venetian or Italian traveller may have occasionally found his way to India; but such visits were of rare occurrence. Rubriquis, a Latin Monk, and Marco Polo have both left interesting narratives of their travels to the East.* It is more than doubtful that Rubriquis did not penetrate beyond Persia and the country of the Afghans. But while the Franciscan monk did not travel so far, it was left to his distinguished contemporary Marco Polo not only to travel to India, but also to complete his mission to the Court of China.

At a time when so little was known of India and the East, when scarcely a single European had ventured beyond the limits of Persia, the narrative of the travels of Marco Polo proved not less interesting from their having been a valuable acquisition to the works of ancient geography, as from their presenting details of the adventures of a bold and chivalrous explorer. Indeed, when it is remembered that this distinguished Venetian had no independent income, had no knowledge of the language of the countries he visited, and had but an imperfect idea of the geography of India or China, it

* Wilham de Rubriquis or Ruysbroek. It is doubtful whether he penetrated so far as India.

will not be denied that he had many and arduous difficulties to contend with. History has not done sufficient justice to him. Romance has nowhere ascribed to him any of those great qualities which she delighted to ascribe to her heroes. Yet had he lived and laboured in Europe instead of in Asia, and had he a biographer to chronicle those labors, both poetry and fiction would have given him a place in the niche of fame not inferior to that occupied by Ulysses, the hero of Ithaca; the explorer of Africa, whose marvellous tales of the discovery of the Lotophagi and of the Cyclops were re-told by the author of the *Æneid*, and whose pretty fictions of the enchantress Circe on the island of *Æea*, and of the fairy visions seen on the island of Calypso, have been made the constant theme of idyls and of sea dreams. As it might be said of Megasthenes that he was the first European who had penetrated India as far as the Ganges; of Marco Polo it might with equal historical truth be affirmed that he was the first European who had journeyed overland to China. In one extent alone was Marco Polo fortunate. Both his uncle and his father had travelled to the Court of Kublai Khan in Chinese Tartary; and it was during his stay subsequently at that court that the young Marco had acquired his knowledge of the Mongolian language which was of so much use to him in his subsequent travels into India and China. The manuscript written at his dictation by a fellow prisoner while in captivity was not published in Venice until nearly two centuries and a half had elapsed from the date of its being written. Marco Polo's mission to India was not without its results, if it drew attention to the fabled riches of the Peninsula. From the fifteenth century the first intercourse between India and Portugal commenced. It is curious that the subjugation of the Moors in Europe should so soon be followed by that chain of events which led to the subjugation of the Moslem power in India. The fifteenth century might indeed be said to be the era of brilliant and distinguished naval discoveries. The discovery of America, of Madeira, of the Cape de*Verd Islands, of the Azores, of the Cape of Good Hope, and finally of that passage to India by the Cape which led to the establishment on a wide basis of the trade with India, followed each other in rapid succession. To the Portuguese navigators must be ascribed the praise of those first successful voyages which opened out the trade with the East Indies. Those discoveries took place in the early part of the reign of Don Juan the First. His reign was rendered brilliant by the successes and by the bold daring of his naval captains. The narrow bounds of the Empire of Portugal under that monarch sought extension in the distant regions of the East, as that of Spain in the newly discovered regions of the West. Washed by the shores of the Atlantic Ocean it gave ample scope to the maritime

genius of its people. Among those who fostered the spirit of enterprize which was then for the first time awakened, the youthful prince Don Henry stands foremost. Retiring from the gaities of the court, in his retreat near Cape St. Vincent, he meditated on bold schemes of maritime conquest. Under a prince of so generous a disposition, it is not surprising that the discoveries made and the conquests achieved by Portugal in the fifteenth century should have been second only to those of Spain. In a few years the Portuguese had chased the Moors out of their kingdom, had beheld the fall of Granada, had driven the last of the Moors to Africa, had rivalled the Spanish nation in the brilliancy of its naval discoveries, had discovered the Azores, St. Helena, Cape of Good Hope, Madagascar, Mozambique, the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and had planted the standard of Portugal and the banner of the Cross on the shores of India. While many years had not elapsed since Galianez had doubled the Cape of Badajoz,* another successful Captain had conquered the island of Arguin. While Juan Gonsalvez Arco and Tristan Tassora† were exploring the seas and estuaries of the African coast, one naval commander fell bravely fighting against the negroes of Cape de Verd Islands, and another, Gonsalva, made the discovery of the Azores. Madeira was discovered by another Portuguese commander, and the discovery of the Cape of Storms led to the first successful voyage by sea to India. Ten years after Bartholomew Diaz had doubled the Cape in a storm, and five years after Columbus had discovered the new world, Vasco de Gama landed on the Malabar Coast.

He set sail for India with three small ships; his followers consisted of sixty men. On doubling the Cape he encountered a fierce storm, and his crew, fearing the dangers of an unknown sea, mutinied, and at the peril of his life urged him to return. Vasco de Gama was undismayed, alike at the threats of his crew, and at the fierce tempest which threatened destruction. The perseverance of the commander instilled courage into the hearts of his crew; the mutiny was checked; and in the end of November 1497 he found himself approaching the coast of the African town of Melinda. Here he learnt that India was not unknown to the natives, that Christian merchants from India traded there, and that there were then Indian pilots at Melinda who could guide him to the Malabar Coast. He was not slow in accepting the services of a pilot, and under his guidance he reached the coast in twenty-three days, and anchored in the calm waters before Calicut. He found the town of Calicut

* His mission to Tartary in 1253 and to Persia, being deputed by Louis IX., is however interesting.

† Pronounced incorrectly by some as Bojador. Murray has fallen into the same error or misprint; he pronounces the name as Tristram Vaz.

flourishing: and was admitted into the presence of the Zamorin, or ruler of that place. His interviews were repeated, and his conciliatory demeanour led to the establishment of a commercial treaty between the Zamorin and the Government of Portugal.

He sailed back to Melinda, and taking on board an ambassador from the Moorish prince or chief reigning there, he returned to Lisbon in September 1849. Here honors awaited him. He was received with enthusiasm by his countrymen. He was summoned to Court, and the title of Admiral of the Indian, Persian and Arabian seas was conferred on him. So successful did the first expedition to India prove, that a second one was soon projected: Pedro Alvarez de Cabral was appointed to the command. He reached Calicut with his small fleet in safety, and established a factory there. On his departure, the factory was attacked by the natives and the Portuguese factors murdered. In consequence of these proceedings, the Portuguese Government fitted out a fleet of twenty ships, and entrusted the command to Gama. On his way out to India he settled factories at Sofala and Mozambique. His return to India was a surprise to the natives of Calicut, for they had imagined, in murdering the Portuguese factors, they had exterminated their enemies. Vasco de Gama seized all the ships in the port. He demanded satisfaction for the outrages which had been committed. Not receiving what he demanded, he cannonaded and destroyed the town. Leaving five ships to protect the factory, he returned to Lisbon in December 1503, and was created Count of Videqueray. Albuquerque prosecuted the conquests which were commenced by Vasco de Gama; and it was not until twenty-one years afterwards that De Gama again sailed for India under the title of Viceroy. He did not long survive his accession to power. He soon after died on his arrival at Cochin. To this illustrious navigator must belong the merit of having discovered the route to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The *Lusiad* of Camoens, who accompanied him in his first voyage, illustrates some of his adventures in song; while history has to record that in discovering this new route he had established an era not less eventful to commerce as to politics.

In a few years the Portuguese had settled in Ceylon, and had taken possession of Goa and Calicut, of Mangalore and Negapatam. Portuguese ships monopolized the trade and navigation of the Red Sea, and Portuguese vessels drove out the Moorish vessels which up till then traded with the Eastern Coasts of India. The trade of the Persian Gulf was in the hands of the Portuguese, and it was more than possible that in a few years Portuguese power would have been dominant in India. At present the foreign possessions of Portugal are limited to Goa in India and

to Macao in China. While of the numerous islands once possessed by them in the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean only the Azores, Madeira and Cape de Verd Islands are left to them.

The rapid rise and early decadence of the Portuguese Empire in the East is remarkable as furnishing a contrast to the steady growth of the British Empire and rule in India. Goa, once the Portuguese capital and the seat of their Government, once the emporium of commerce between the East and the West, is now a thinly populated city infested with malaria. Its principal attractions lie in its associations with the past. It was there that Albuquerque and De Gama governed. The ruins of the viceregal palace, the arch of Albuquerque, the Dominican Monastery and Church with its gallery seven hundred feet long, the Church of Bomjesus, the scene of the devotions of St. Francis, once the head-quarters of Jesuitism in India, and the Church of Saint Augustin, still attest its former greatness. Situated at the mouth of the Mandova River it consists of two cities, called the old town and the new town. Known under the Mogul Government as a city of some consequence, and mentioned by Ferishta so early as 1374, as belonging to the King of Bejanuggur, it is not surprising that it should have excited the cupidity of the Portuguese. So early as 1510, Alphonso de Albuquerque undertook its conquest. It fell an easy prey, and long afterwards that day was commemorated in some of the churches of Goa, and dedicated to the Virgin and Martyr of Sienna, celebrated in the annals of ecclesiastical story for her piety, for her austerities, for her poetical and mystical letters.

To Albuquerque much of the greatness of the city of Goa is owing. He repaired the fortifications, he strengthened the town, he erected palaces; and owing to public grants and private munificence, many of those cathedrals and stately churches which have lent their chief beauty to the town were soon raised.

Nor is it alone for its ecclesiastical buildings that Goa was thus early distinguished.* To the readers of history it will always be remembered as associated with the labors of a monk, who in zeal and in devotion has acquired a reputation among the brotherhood of the society of Jesuits second only to that of his friend and associate Ignatius Loyola.

Descended from a noble family in Navarre, Francis Xavier, the missionary monk of the sixteenth century, spent more than ten

* An officer of cavalry, who visited "Goa forty years ago, thus writes of some of its buildings:—For purity and elegance of design and correctness of execution I would select the church of St. Caietans, for grandeur of dimensions the church of St.

Dominic and the Cathedral, for gorgeousness of display in its interior that of St. Augustin; but for its effect on the mind that of Bomjesus. Some of these churches, however, are now neglected."

years in India, preaching Christianity in the Portuguese colonies, and died endeavouring to prosecute his mission into China. Goa was the scene for some years of his missionary efforts. Like Ignatius Loyola, he added to deep piety great enthusiasm, great zeal, and great devotion to the cause of his order. Like the founder of the order of Jesus, he had the rare quality of swaying other minds, and although leading a life of great austerity, so great was his enthusiasm in the cause he advocated that he succeeded in attracting around him some men of greater talents and greater accomplishments than himself. While it was owing to the singular energy of the order to which he belonged, the spirit which for upwards of a century seemed to animate it, the vow to which each brother of the order had to subscribe before being admitted and by which he bound himself to journey to the remotest part of the world in order to labor for the salvation of souls, that carried Xavier to the shores of India; there is but little doubt that it was owing to his exertions that so many converts at Goa were won over to the Romish Church. In the present day it is curious to observe the absence of the fiery zeal which animated the successors of Ignatius Loyola, and the successors of Francis Xavier, among the fathers or brothers of the Romish Church. The spirit of Jesuitism and the machinery of the Inquisition have both fallen to decay.

Nor is it only in India that the order has now ceased to exert any influence either for good or for evil. It was caused by the outbreak of Protestantism in the north of Europe. It ceased to become a power when the Reformation was firmly established, and when that polemical war between Protestantism and Romanism ceased to be fought with the zeal and the acrimony which characterised those disputes at the commencement of the Reformation. During the life of its founder, Jesuitical zeal and learning looked for a reform in morals and in the doctrines of the Romish Church; but when such able spiritual coadjutors as Lefèvre, Laynez, and Francis Xavier ceased to exist, it is easy to imagine that both the power and the privileges which the order enjoyed would be abused by those professors who were not animated by the zeal, or who did not possess those higher qualities of prudence or obedience to the rules of their order, which characterised the early professors of the order. Jesuitism, which had spread from the old world to the new, which had more or less imbued the ideas and the religious aspirations of the south of Europe, which had erected its colleges on the shores of Asia and in the depths of Peru, which saw its emissaries in every court, and its priests often the virtual rulers of kings in most Roman Catholic states; which lent its missionaries, skilled in the school of the casuists and armed with the secret power of the Inquisition, to

every country, in the course of a few centuries soon became a word of reproach even among states which acknowledge the Roman Catholic religion. The intrigues and the misdeeds, the love of power and the love of greed, of the Jesuits alike made them dreaded. In Venice the order was suppressed at the same time that it was in England; a century and a half later it was suppressed in Portugal and in Spain and in France. A few years after, so great was the bitter and general hatred engendered by the inquisition, that in 1773 Pope Clement the XIV. endeavoured to suppress the order by a Papal decree. †

The college of the Jesuits at Goa is now neglected and in ruins; while near the senate house may be seen the spot where once stood the building of the Inquisition associated with more than one tale of horror.

In writing of Xavier it is impossible not to associate him with the recollection of that spirit which animated all the great followers of Jesuitism. As a spiritual adviser, as a popular preacher, as a religious enthusiast, as a physician of souls, as one of the first pioneers of the Christian religion in India, as a General of the Jesuit mission at Goa, as the illustrious apostle of the Roman Catholic faith, Xavier has earned for himself a lasting reputation. He surmounted difficulties such as even Laynez would have shrunk from. Like Loyola he possessed a high degree of that administrative faculty which adapts itself to all instruments which works with the most unskilful agency, which displays itself in the classification of labour to an end, and which is most skilful in regulating and reducing into order the most minute details of religious life in large religious establishments. The human machine was one which he could mould to his own views or purpose. But while he himself obeyed the most trivial injunction of the head of his order, he in return expected implicit obedience to his own commands. In India he looked upon himself as the sole General to whom was entrusted the reins of the spiritual government. He was to India what Rodriguez was to Portugal, what Loyola was to Italy. Neither Laynez, nor Alphonso Salmeron, nor Nicholas Alphonso, nor Rodriguez could have surpassed him in zeal, in patience, in perseverance, if any of them had been deputed to India in his place. Like Loyola he was a profound master of human nature; but unlike him he had not the instinctive sagacity to detect the hidden disposition of character, or to intuitively fathom the secret springs of action. Like him his life had been one of incessant toil; like him he had braved dangers from which other men less enthusiastic would have shrunk; like him in accepting his mission he sacrificed

† The system has to a certain extent been revived in 1814 by the opening of a Novitiate which received the direction of the *Collegium Romanum* and of the Propaganda.

all prospects of future ease, of wealth, of honour, which would have been inconsistent with his devotion to the cause which he had sworn to uphold. Unlike him his mind had not the same grasp, or that liberality which could alone spring from elevated mental culture. Loyola had sought to found a religious system by which he might rule the world, as expressed by a recent writer, not by the universal diffusion of religious motive, not by fixing the eyes of mortal men upon the invisible and the eternal as the means, but by using the invisible and the eternal as the fulcrum of his lever of government. Xavier, accepting this doctrine as the basis of the institute of Jesuitism, sought to carry out in its full integrity the maxim of his order. His was not a mind which would have shaped for itself a new orbit, athwart the social system he found in India.

On his arrival in India he found that the mass of the natives of India were steeped in idolatry; and that much social as well as religious reform was needed for the Portuguese settlers in Goa.

When Francis Xavier arrived at Goa he found a population larger than that which he was accustomed to see in even some of the large towns of Italy; he found that although Goa was the seat of the Portuguese viceroyalty in the East, and that although it had a large and increasing commerce, Portuguese immorality and Hindoo superstition had alike tended to lower the tone of society and to debase the character of the people in it. Portuguese cupidity and avarice had already begun to display itself. The annals of that period are stained with acts of atrocity which it is not necessary here to revert to. Exactly ten years before he landed* the old and venerable prince Bahadoor, King of Guzerat, was murdered treacherously. The western coast was ravaged, Diu, Gogo, and Bantain were sacked. Nionna de Cantra, then governor at Goa, had none of the qualities of daring or courage or magnanimity which distinguished De Gama or Albuquerque, and amidst the records of crime, the glimpses of greatness or of magnanimity or of heroism were few indeed.

The native town of Goa was then, like most other native towns where Europeans had settled, ill-built, overcrowded, ill-drained. At morning and evening where the Mussulmans resided might be seen the heads of Moslem families, grey bearded and venerable Mahomedans, standing up in corners of streets and bowing themselves to their prophet in prayer. The men wore long gowns, and white turbans. In another part, the streets swarmed with Hindus, half nude, looking out from the old carved basements of their small balconies above or from within the low antique doors underneath. In each house were seen Indian mothers nursing their children, dusky ragged young Indians tumbling about the

* Todd's Travels in Western India, p. 259.

ill-drained gutters. Pigs, goats, and hens, dogs and cows tumbled about among the children in playful confusion. The market squares were no better than the rest of the town. There were little wretched shops facing the squares, which were stocked with buyers and sellers, with grains and pulse, with inferior vegetables, and with tawdry and tinsel ornaments. In the shops, dark Mahomedans sat and smoked, and sold silks and Bengal cloths. Of course, in all the transactions going on there was a good deal of hustling, of bickering, of wheedling, of cringing, and of the usual exhibitions of passion so often displayed in the Indian money market for annas and half annas; the battle between vendor and purchaser being always a fierce one, great and heroic martyrdom being displayed by the seller when he abated his price, and great cunning eagerness being displayed when he obtained an apparent profit. In the streets leading to the market places might be seen lines of idle camels snorting and bubbling, and groaning piteously, and complaining loudly against the trouble of being made to sit down and get up. Behind them stretched listlessly their keepers dreaming away their time in the shade. Carts laden with grain blocked up the streets. At that time Goa was the emporium of commerce between the East and the West, and its markets attracted merchants from nearly every part of India. Francis Xavier found in Goa races immersed in superstition, a disorganised government and a grasping priesthood. Nor were the convents and the monasteries free from some of the worst vices which at that time infected society. In the language of Ariosto he might with equal truth and force have exclaimed :

“ Nò pietà nò quieta, nò umiltade,
Nò quiví amor, nò quiví, pace mira.
Ben vi fur' già, ma nell' antica etade
Che le cacciár, 'gola avarizia, ed ira,
Superbia, invidia, inèrzia, ecrédultade.”

Goa has no longer the reputation it had acquired in the days of Francis Xavier. The old town is now a dreary waste infested with malaria; and a few scattered chapels and convents, churches and monasteries, deserted except by ecclesiastics, are all that are left of its former greatness. The palaces and gardens of the Albuquerque's and the De Gama's are deserted. Its ancient palace-like mansions are in ruin. To the antiquarian the old town, however, still possesses an interest.

Apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt apparent priami et veterum penetralia regum. Decay follows prosperity, the mossgrown ruin takes the place of turret and steeple. The Goa of the present day would scarcely be recognised in the Goa of the sixteenth century.

Xavier found the Portuguese at Goa isolated from the association

of their own country, and in manners and morals rapidly degenerating to the standard of the natives around them. From the time of Alphonso Albuquerque, the second Portuguese governor of India, to the time of the arrival of Xavier several years had elapsed. Albuquerque had repaired the town, had added to its fortifications, had planted groves, had erected palaces, had built churches, had embellished the city, had introduced a form of government, rude it is true, and simple, but still partaking in some measure of those forms which were recognised in the West. But to Albuquerque had succeeded a series of weak rulers; and Goa although containing a population of 150,000 Portuguese Christians and 50,000 Hindus and Mahomedans, already showed symptoms of decline. About the time of Xavier's arrival, Alphonso de Sousa, then Governor of Portuguese India, thus wrote:—"I dare not govern India by men so changed from truth and honor. The Portuguese entered India with a sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; finding much gold they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets; and not being able to hold them up in one hand, they were grown so heavy, that they dropped the sword, and in this posture being found by those who came after were easily overcome." Xavier's arrival infused a new spirit among them. But Xavier did not long remain in India. He visited Ceylon, and travelled to China. In 1552 he died in the remote island of Siusain on the coast of China. In 1554 the body of this indefatigable Jesuit priest was brought to Goa and interred in the chapel of Saint Paul. For some years it was exhibited in a state of preservation. Many years later it was removed to the church of Bomjesus, where it was enshrined in silver and brass on a superb bier of Italian marble with effigies in bronze standing out in relief, commemorating his pilgrimages and the principal events of his life.

It is difficult to sketch the character of Francis Xavier. Gifted by nature with courage and intelligence, he was throughout life inspired with a zeal and devotion to his duty, which was seldom found in so strong a degree in any of the followers of Loyola. His was eminently a practical life. Letters and the fine arts did not claim much of his attention. Piety formed the lasting bond of union between him and his church. At Goa he governed his order by tact, by kindness, by reprimands, sometimes as terrible as those which used to be issued by Lettelier, sometimes by censures as mild as those which used to be conveyed by the gentle Lachaise. In deputing him to India, Rome had been admirably guided either by chance or selection in such a missionary. It was certain that neither the difficulties of travelling nor extreme privations could easily daunt him. The pencil and the chisel have not indeed made the world familiar with a delineation of the portrait of this Jesuit priest; but from those portraits which remain of him it would be easy to trace in his

features the perseverance and the energy which form the chief characteristic of his life. In moulding his figure nature had employed but little material. It might be said of him in the language of Juvenal, *rara est concordia formæ atque pudicitia*.* His was no life which glided away in soft dreams of intellectual voluptuousness. Whether taking part in metaphysical discussions with the Brahmins of Goa, whether converting the savages of Ceylon, whether instructing or consoling or animating the courage of his order at Diu, whether adapting himself to the manners and customs of the inhabitants of China, or the semi-nude barbarians of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, whether preaching or disputing in a patois of Tuscan, Portuguese and Persian, a quick intelligence and a capacity of easy adaptation to circumstances displayed itself in him. The policy of the Romish church has always been one of tact. When that Church finds one of its gifted or talented enthusiasts a troublesome or dangerous reformer, she does not suppress his energy. If, she argues, such men will be impetuous, it is better that their impetuosity should be enlisted on the right side, than on the wrong; on the side of religion, rather than in the cause of infidelity; on the side even of fanaticism or superstition, rather than on that of heresy. Hence instead of driving by her opposition a monk like St. Francis into heresy, she places him at the head of a monastic order, deposes him as her missionary to the East, incites him to zeal in the great cause of reform and of conversion, and profits by the revival of religious zeal. As the natives of Goa had always preserved in their own ideas of religion, certain forms of dress, certain consecrated attitudes, certain symbols and attributes, certain forms and superstitions which had their meaning determined by their ancient Vedas, so did the Church of Rome, through their missionary St. Xavier, appeal to their senses and to their imagination in the impressiveness of its ritualistic forms, in its ancient traditional leanings to symbolism and dress, and in the gorgeous vestments of its priests, and in the choice of its accessories.

Goa still cherishes the memory of this great priest, and of this zealous missionary; but it is curious that while Xavier should have earned an European reputation, there are so few in India who remember him in connection with his mission, his labors, his success, and his life in the East.

Pangi, the modern Goa, is now the seat of the government of the Portuguese at Goa. The population of the new town is small, and is composed principally of Portuguese. Masses of cocoanut trees fringe the banks at the water's edge, or cast their shadows on the low shelving sands of the river. The modern government

* Juvenalis Sat. x, 297. For rarely do we find in one combined a vigorous body and a virtuous mind.

house cannot compare in point of architecture with the old palace of Albuquerque. But viewed from the water's edge it has a pleasing appearance. At Ribunder is the chief civil and criminal court. The supreme authority is vested in a governor. He has unlimited powers. He is aided by a commander-in-chief, by an attorney-general, by a chief secretary, and by a chief naval commandant. There is also an Archbishop. There are civil and criminal courts, and a *lex scripta* of court and colonial law. The revenue is not large, and out of the small revenues about one-tenth is annually paid to Portugal as the proceeds of the royal monopoly of tobacco. The commerce is small, and trade languishes. The police is not effective. The traveller who now visits Goa will see but little to admire in the seat of the Portuguese Government. The town has lost much of its architectural beauty. There is but little private wealth. There is still a governor who exercises the chief power in the colony, an Archbishop who still bears the title of Eccellenza, and a commander-in-chief who takes rank with a field marshal of Portugal. The dress worn is European; the language talked is a patois of Goanese, Concanese, and Portuguese. The majority of the inhabitants are poor, and many who can get nothing to do in Goa seek employment in Bombay as menials in the service of Europeans. The Government as well as the people have degenerated, and we should be disappointed if in turning to the present annals of the Portuguese Government of Goa we should expect to see any records of progress, of liberalism, or of reform.* It might be said of Goa in the language of Montesquieu, "*Un Gouvernement parvenu au point où il ne peut plus se reformer lui même, que perdrait-il à être refondu ?*"

Pangi although much neglected still presents some features of architectural beauty. Approaching it from the sea its beauty is heightened. The village of Ribunder is picturesque. There are sailing boats on the river; and the views, as you glide down towards the open sea, are picturesque.

But if Portuguese power had thus rapidly increased in the East, it had as rapidly declined. Several causes may have tended to the rapid decadence of that power. The vigorous reign of Albuquerque at Goa was followed by the feeble rule of a number of effete successors. The rivalry of the Dutch traders tended to lessen their gains. Their commerce rapidly declined. The early Portuguese governors of Goa affected a viceregal state. They lived luxuriously and idly. The palace of Albuquerque

* Montesquieu *Le'sprit* X. C. 3. can lose nothing by being founded afresh.
A government which has reached the point, where it cannot reform itself,

witnessed scenes which would have rivalled the scenes enacted in the palaces of some of the oriental emperors at Delhi. Occasionally a few military sports might have retrieved the general character of the viceregal amusements. But from records of that period now extant, there is reason to believe that the successors of Albuquerque led lives which were certainly not blameless. In the character of some of the weakest of those rulers were to be found a union of profligacy, cupidity, greed of gain, superstition, and an oriental despotism of character. The government of the Portuguese in India is not without its lessons in history. That neither French domination nor Portuguese superstition should have a lasting sway in India are not surprising. The benefits derived from the English supremacy in India are likely to be alike beneficial and lasting.

In the annexation of India to the British Empire, it is not difficult to trace the hand of a higher destiny than that which may be controlled by mere human wisdom. We trace the hand of God in history. Our power in the East has been gradually acquired. It was not the design of Providence that India should have been conquered for commercial advantages only, as Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote. Providence had a higher object in view in annexing India to the kingdom of Great Britain than to afford facilities for the export of piece-goods and indigo, and to provide situations for the relatives and friends of the Directors in London. More generous, and it is to be trusted more Christian, maxims of colonial policy are now entertained in our relations with the East. In reviewing, however, the early connection of the Portuguese with India, one lesson has been taught us which we have discarded: one theory of Government which nevertheless has received the assent of our best rulers. The Portuguese during that short period when they had acquired the dominion of the western coast had sought to extend the supremacy of their Church. There was no opposition displayed in the sixteenth century by the natives of India to this effort on their part to introduce the Christian religion into India. The labours of a missionary like Francis Xavier met with success. There was no faint hearted policy on his part; no shrinking from making an open manifestation of the truth. If the records of contemporaneous history are to be trusted, he had preached from Cape Comorin to Manáar. He had obtained converts at Malacca and at Ceylon. At Japan he remained nearly two years and a half, and amongst his hearers and his converts were to be found the rude savages of Macao and Sansia. To the honour of the Portuguese Government it must be added that they aided and assisted his mission openly and avowedly. But the good work which he began has not been continued; and the rapid degeneracy of the Portuguese

Government in the Western Coast of India followed quickly on the footsteps of the decline of the Portugal Government in Europe. What those causes were which led to a decline so rapid it is not necessary to trace. In looking back upon the history of ancient Goa, and the short tenure of Portuguese viceroyalty in India, it is difficult not to recognise some useful truths; the inflexibility of fate, in the legend which points to decay following prosperity, of nation succeeding nation, and of the endless mutation in dynasties. As the picture of ancient Goa rises up before the mind, like the phantom shades of Banquo—

“ in dim procession led ”

with its line of Vasco de Gama's, De Souza's, and Albuquerque's; with its Naibs and courtiers, Cazis and Dewans with the brute tyranny, the avarice and the cupidity, and the thirst of gold, and the bold and daring adventuresome spirit, unscrupulous and rapacious, restrained in some instances by the monkish ascotism and superstition of the sixteenth century, it is not difficult to recognise the fact that, of all the nations of the West which ruled or swayed the destinies of India, the Portuguese led the van. They were the pioneers.

SYRACUSE.

What means this gallant armament ·
Within Piræus' bay ?
These galleys brave, that crown the wave,
This mighty war-array ?'
' Such a glorious crowd of war-ships proud
Ne'er rode the heaving seas, ·
Since the day when our fathers quelled the Mede,
With great Themistocles.

And we—our hearts beat high, as when
The southern bands streamed forth,
What time the warriors of the League
Were pressing toward the North.
When lowered o'er all the smiling land,
The death-cloud's angry gloom, ·
And from the Spartan's boding lips
Burst forth the words of doom.

Now He, our peerless statesman,
Has sought the silent shades,
And fire and sword have wasted
Our happy olive-glades.
We have felt the red grip of the Plague,
The War-God's breath of flame,
But the subtle proud Athenian soul
Is soaring still the same.

Hail to the Three ! whose deathless praise
Our grateful voices swell,*
Nicias, the brave, the wise, the good,
Whom the blest gods love well.
And Lamachus, the bright and bold,
And Clinias' haughty son,
Aye to the front is he, when wreaths
Of fame are to be won.

Soon humbled Syracuse shall feel
That lordly Athens smiles
Queen Monarch of the fair blue main,
And Empress of the isles.

Soon will we sail before the gale,
 And greet the billows free,
 And our Minstrels' victor-strains shall float
 O'er the shores of Sicily ! "

From Athens' templed shades rang out
 This chant of wild unrest,
 What time the Spring-tide sank to sleep
 On Summer's glowing breast.
 And all the soft transparent air
 With clash of arms was loud
 Both near and far, so throbbed for war
 The fierce hearts of the crowd.

But storm the exulting City's soul
 Shrill voices of affright,
 ' Fear ye the Gods ! a deed accursed
 Was wrought last outraged night.
 Woe to the impious streets that feel
 Great Hermes' awful frown,
 On whom the Herald of the Sire
 Thrice terribly looks down ! '

Now (may Love's Queen, and pitying Zeus
 Avert the omen dread !),
 With solemn pomp our women mourn
 The bright Adonis dead.
 Now thro' the black-robed throngs are borne
 The statues ghastly-fair,
 While evermore the sweet wild dirge
 Breathes sadness thro' the air.

But lo ! the laughing Morn awakes,
 The waves flash in the bay,
 And to Piræus and the ships
 Our host goes down to-day.
 Hail to the brave ! with joyous shouts
 We'll speed them o'er the foam ;
 Full soon, with glorious conquests flushed,
 They'll sweep triumphant home !

But hark ! the trumpet-blasts for prayer
 Those throbbing hearts attune,
 And all yon murmuring crowds are hushed
 As leaves at Summer-noon.
 Then clear above the silence float
 The Herald's silver tones,
 And the stormy Pæan thrills the gods,
 High on Olympian thrones.

The cups gleam bright in the glad sunlight,
 As the purple wine they pour,
 Then swift the sharp keel cleaves the blue,
 Dim grows the well-loved shore.
 High o'er the prows the spray leaps up,
 Nor quails the rowers' might,
 Till lo ! fair Pallas' Temple crowns
 Ægina's holy height.

With press of sail and straining oars
 Their storm-swift course they shape,
 South round rude Malea's wind-swept cliffs,
 And the dark Tænarian Cape.
 Now east the soft Messenian shores,
 And Elis' vales are spread,
 Now smiling o'er the azure depths
 Corcyra looms ahead.

How proudly sweep yon white-winged ships,
 As they bear the shouting host,
 Between the olive-sprinkled isle
 And the rough Epirot coast.
 How while the happy air beats thrilled
 With many a battle-song,
 Those stately triremes toward the port
 Press gallantly along.

But heave the sluggish anchor up,
 And hail the breezes free !
 Three columns strong they breast the waves,
 And breast them gloriously.
 Now proud Hesperia o'er the main,
 Her mighty headland throws,
 Now to the toil-worn barks at last
 Fair Rhegium yields repose.

Then, had the virgin Goddess smiled,
 On whom the Athenians call,
 Full soon the threatened City's towers
 Had tottered to their fall.
 But cold and dead as a frozen stream
 The heart of Nicias lay,
 Nor recked he of the lowering Fates
 Who marked him for their prey.

* * * * *
 " Two weary years have fled—yet still
 The all-ruling Powers refuse,
 To speed our sons victorious back
 From fallen Syracuse.

How oft our eyes have pierced the south
 From fair Hymettus' height,
 But ne'er, our yearning hearts to glad,
 The great fleet heaves in sight.

And now our high aspiring hopes
 Are yielding to despair,
 Blacker and blacker frowns the cloud,
 And darker grows the air.
 Would God that we might see once more
 Those white sails fleck the main,
 As erst when o'er them soared to heaven
 Our lofty parting strain !

* * * *

Now o'er the towers of Syracuse
 The summer night sinks down,
 And the Queen Moon o'er land and wave
 Hath cast her silver crown.
 And from the ramparts tall and grim,
 The sentry's warning shout
 Floats o'er the sleeping town within,
 And the leaguering host without.

A tent is pitched apart for him,
 The melancholy Chief,
 Where care-worn Nicias broods alone,
 Bowed down with toil and grief.
 And as the night steals on, ere breaks
 The crowning battle-day,
 His thoughts into the voiceful Past,
 Fly free and far away.

Once more upon the Rock he stands,
 Whence the bright orations flow,
 The fair blue summer sky above,
 And the heaving crowd below.
 Guarding her venerable hill,
 Great Pallas towers before,
 Piræus' lordly masts behind,
 And the Salaminian shore.

Now, as in keen debate long skilled
 His well-poised shafts he flings,
 Like a spurred war-horse to the front
 The son of Clinias springs.

High o'er Hymettus' echoing ridge
The proud acclaim is borne,
As the People's idol flashes forth
His hatred and his scorn.

They shall see soon enough for whom
They shout their vain applause,
When the traitor throws away the mask,
The tiger bares his claws.
He too shall know and feel the worth
Of the fickle Nation's breath,
When the voice that lifts his name to heaven
Shall thunder for his death.

" Full many a moon hath waxed and waned,
And still yon warriors frown
Defiance on our baffled strength,
From the walls of the leaguered town.
What though full oft we have fought and won,
Though swooping from the sea,
Fierce up the steep ascent we rushed,
And grasped Epipolæ.

And toiled until the twilight-shades,
From reddening of the dawn,
Till vast and high from cliff to port
The barrier lines were drawn,
Have we not lost our well-loved chief,
The Day-Star of the fight,
Hath not brave Lamachus gone down,
In full flush of his might?

Vain all our feats of arms against
The Gods' victorious will,
Pale Fever's slowly-wasting breath,
The Spartan's fatal skill.
But who might dare defy the Power,
Who barred our homeward way?
Though 'twere like Heaven's own breath to feel,
The dashing ocean-spray?

When in his starry sky the Sire
His awful sign had hung,
O'er the fair face of yon summer Moon,
His veil of terror flung?
So mused he, till day's fiery shafts,
Have pierced the eastern gloom,
And thro' the dim light of the morn,
The City-bastions loom.

But proud and glad the patriot bands,
 Those long-tried walls within,
 Their stern hearts throb with the maddening joy,
 Of those who fight to win.

"Ours the achievement proud," they cry,
 "The bright surpassing fame,
 To tower the leaders and the chiefs
 Of the conquering Dorian name.
 Our City's suffering brow to wreath
 With Glory's loftiest crown,
 And from her fraud-won vantage-ground
 To hurl the oppressor down.
 Ne'er let the Athenians hope to burst
 Our mighty harbour-chain,
 Break thro' our marshalled lines and sweep
 Triumphant o'er the main.
 'Tis for their doom we have hemmed them in,
 As hunters pen the deer,
 And the stroke of our blood-bought high revenge
 The world shall quake to hear!"

But Nicias, faint and sick at heart,
 As a wounded stag at bay,
 When the grim relentless hounds close in
 Fierce panting for the prey,
 Though no fair sunset rays of hope
 His darksome path illumine,
 Speaks out, as best such Chief might speak,
 When battling ere his doom.
 A Captain tried—no blast of war
 Might make his spirit quail—
 But a Captain all too scant of strength
 Such storm-tossed waves to sail.

"Not now for martial glory,
 Nor conquest's laurel wreath
 Fight we—no choice is left us now,
 Save victory or death.
 But skilled in many a battle,
 We may not blench, nor yield
 Like timorous slaves, who ne'er have known
 The chance of stricken field.

We, whom the queenly City,
 Whose peerless Star hath shone
 O'er the heaving seas of Salamis,
 And sacred Marathon,

Hath trusted—dare we fail her?—

With the pure pearl of her fame,
And sent us forth to keep unstained
The whiteness of her name.

Press to the front, my Captains,

Strike in the van with me,

For the glory of your fathers,

For the country of the free.

Strike for the loving matrons,

Who mourn us o'er the foam,

Strike for the little children,

Who lisp our names at home.

So shall the warrior Virgin

Still proudly front the waves,

Nor shall down-trodden Athens

Weep for her exiled slaves,

But rush to greet us with a smile

As lustrous as her skies ;

Onward, for Death or Freedom,

Athenians and allies !”

But the lofty battle-cry rang out

Thro' the soft and mellow air,

Nor might the glorious sun gaze down

On scene more passing fair.

Where many a gallant bark swept on,

O'er the blue sea's gleaming breast,

And many a war-skiff lightly rode

The sparkling billow-crest.

But fierce and fast as the roaring flood

That flames down *Ætna's* height,

Ship closed with ship, while crashed to heaven

The thunder of the fight.

Ever on shield and helmet

The great stones clanged amain,

Ever the bitter death-shafts

Fell like a blighting rain.

Now locked in deadly grapple

Each stately galley lay,

And ye might see the keen swords flash

Above the glittering spray.

Loud rings the steel, and the proud ships reel,

The warriors' tramp beneath,

As foot to foot they fight the decks,

And fight them to the death.

But bright-winged Victory soared aloof,
Nor rose the Athenian star,
Nor set the sun of Syracuse,
But equal surged the war.
So the huge billows heave and break,
What time the Thracian gale
Swoops eastward, where the storm-vexed straits
Roar thro' the driving hail..

And now great shouts of maddening joy,
Now wailings deep and loud,
Burst forth, where throng the Athenian shore,
The sea-ward gazing crowd.
Not with the flashing eyes that speak
The warriors' stern delight,
But even as men death-doomed, they watch
The eddyings of the fight.

Lo! where long-spent by many a charge
The Athenian line falls back,
There like a rushing fire, the foes
Hurl on their fierce attack,
Till, as resistless toward the land
They press the flying rout,
Floats o'er the fury of the fray
The thundering victor-shout.

Then the north shore lay strewn with wrecks,
As when great Boreas' wrath
Scatters some crowd of white-winged barks,
That cross the swift wind's path,
And toward the inexorable heaven
Up-soaring far and high,
Rang from the doomed Athenian camp
One shriek of agony.

Now purple-robed and chaplet-crowned
The victors lie at ease,
And loud the exulting minstrels chant
The praise of Heracles.
'O glorious son of Zeus, rejoice!
The hard-fought day is our's,
Still proudly smiling o'er her foes
Thy well-loved city towers.'

But in the Grecian tents King Death
Holds festival to-night,
Bitter and black the banquet rare
Set forth for his delight,

Where shuddering'neath the pale Moon's rays,
The rank marsh-grasses wave,
On heroes slain he feasts, and quaffs
The red blood of the brave.

Then comes the terrible retreat,
No mortal lyre may tell
The pangs that rend their hearts, who speak
That passionate farewell,
For the wild lament waxed clear and shrill,
Till all the echoing air,
Thrilled with the sobs of dying men,
And wailings of despair.

And now, slow massing rank on rank
For fruitless strife, they gain
The threatening river-shore, and toil
On o'er the vine-clothed plain,
But no long-yearned-for nook of rest
Their weary glance beguiles,
Far gleaming mid that fair expanse
No sheltering city smiles.

When the glorious Southern sunlight crowns
The mountain and the vale,
Blushes apace the red, red rose,
And thrills the nightingale,
With her own loving tones she thrills
The sweet glad season through,
And fast and fresh on the heart they fall,
As the dry earth drinks the dew.

But for the flying Greeks in vain
Bright Nature spreads her charms,
A goddess fair, but fierce, she smiles,
And woos them to her arms,
Till on the hearts of the shuddering host,
A deathlike shadow fell,
And all the soft Sicilian land
Glared round them like a hell.

Lo ! thro' that scathing cloud of darts,
They struggle onward still,
And break, like storm-waves spent, upon
The unconquerable hill.
Aye, from yon fatal cliff hurled back,
The charging warriors reel,
While blaze the bolts of Zeus, and loud
His crashing war-clouds peal.

"Still the stern foemen hold the heights,
 Our three days' toils are vain,
 Death waits us, when to-morrow's sun
 Breaks o'er the fatal plain.
 Up, while as yet the friendly Night
 Her shrouding mantle throws,
 And, let the pitying Sire smile fair,
 We yet may find repose.'

On thro' the frowning stranger land
 Their weary course they wind,
 Darkness within them and around,
 And a raging host behind.
 And ne'er of mercy from the gods
 Had men more bitter need,
 For fast and furious on their track,
 The spurring horsemen speed.

Where'neath the burning noontide beams
 Yon olives glisten gray,
 Grappling with doom, the rearward band
 Stands terribly at bay.
 Hard-prest, and fighting to the death,
 Amid the arrowy rain,
 Even as a lion in the nets,
 Demosthenes is ta'en.

And where yon sparkling River flowed,
 Calm o'er her shallow bed,
 Flushed with the life-blood of their foes,
 The indignant waves roll red.
 There, conquered by o'er-mastering strength,
 And learning all too late,
 The terrors of a faltering will,
 Sad Nicias yields to fate.

But Joy sways lordly Syracuse,
 Where every mart and street
 Surges with the multitudes astir
 Her victor-sons to greet.
 And lo! the captive-bands advance,
 With slow and heavy tread,
 On each wan ghastly face, Despair
 Hath set her signet dread.

Can these be Athens' warriors proud,
 The skilful in debate,
 The bright and bold on the bristling field,
 The glory of the state?

Flower of the land supreme, where Art
Hath showered her treasures down,
And whom the immortal gods have dowered
With beauty as a crown.

Bound for the coasts of Death are they,
And they shall pace no more,
Cephiſſus' olive-mantled vale,
Nor sweet Ilissus' shore.

And them no glorious white-armed girls
Shall welcome o'er the sea,
Guests in the sad Plutonian halls,
Of pale Persephone.

But happier those austere abodes,
More blest those mansions dread,
Than those grim pits, wherein are heaped
The living and the dead.

Whereon the chill relentless stars
Gaze thro' the silent night,
And stern and terrible the Sun
Glares from his noon-day height:

Few from those dungeons dire ascend
To happy earth again,
Like spectres of the lower world,
Not shapes of breathing men.

Many to seek that mighty host
Of warriors slain are gone,
And greet their sad self-murdered Chiefs,
On shores of Acheron.

But happiest they who love the Bard !
The golden choral strain,
Melts the Muse-vanquished conqueror's heart,
And bursts the maddening chain.
And they, true votaries at the shrine
Of great Euripides,
Chanting the glorious Master's praise,
Sail Greece-ward o'er the seas.

Now, like a storm-blast the black news
On haughty Athens broke,
And rent the imperial City's heart,
As lightning cleaves an oak ;
Where now her glory and her might,
Her name thro' Earth renowned,
Low in the dust she lies, a queen
Dishonored and discrowned.

Spurning her shattered sceptre
The vassal islands rise,
Stern Lacedæmon, hot for war,
Spurs on her proud allies.
Far o'er the Asian sea-board
The boding thunders roll,
And rouse in Susa's stately halls
The slumbering Despot's soul.
There is no house in Athens,
That doth not mourn her dead,
From the fair maiden's death-pale cheek
The roseate bloom hath fled.
Yearns for the darkness of the grave
The hoary-headed sire,
Fast fall the tears that quench for aye
The matron's glance of fire.
The sorrowing City heaved and shook
With tumult and unrest,
From homestead, court, and temple,
The murmuring people prest.
And east from Cerameicus
A mighty concourse flowed,
And thro' the thundering Agora
Surged from the Sacred Road.
To kneel in Pallas' lofty fane,
They climb the steep ascent,
And toward the throne of Zeus soars up
This passionate lament.
"Alas, the loved, the lost, who lie
On shores that are not our's,
For them we may not pour the oil,
Nor cull the fragrant flowers,
Nor where, snow-white, serene, august,
The marble columns shine,
Lay them with those who bled before
For Athens' soil divine.
Weep not for those, who dying felt
The fame that never fades,
High hopes were their's and Victory cheered
Their passage to the shades.
But weep for those, whose longed-for crowns
The un pitying Fates refuse,
Weep for our ill-starred sons, who fell
At fatal Syracuse.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

EDITORIAL NOTE ON *THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF THE* “*CALCUTTA REVIEW*” IN No. 117.

IN the article entitled *The First Twenty Years of the “Calcutta Review,”* by Dr. George Smith, printed in the *Calcutta Review* for July 1874, there were two or three slight inaccuracies and omissions, which have been kindly pointed out to us. Dr. Smith is not now in India, and consequently cannot make the necessary corrections himself; but we are sure that he would wish these corrections to be recorded, so that his interesting and valuable account of the early years of this *Review* may be made as perfect as possible.

The article, on *The Administration of the Panjáb*, in vol. xxi. No. 41, is wrongly attributed to Sir Richard Temple; the writer was Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, C.S. The article on *Indian Law Reform*, in vol. vii., No. 14, wrongly attributed to Mr. Theobald, was really written by Mr. G. W. Cline, LL.D., F. G. S., Barrister-at-Law. The same gentleman was also the author of the article on *The Revenue Survey*, in vol. xxxiii., No. 65, wrongly ascribed to Major Williams—of that on *The Central Provinces*, in vol. xxxviii., No. 76 (no author assigned by Dr. Smith)—and of that on *The Annals of our connexion with India, ending with the Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Tárá-charita. By Srímatí Súrangiñí. Calcutta : 1874.

THIS is a charming little story, told with naïve simplicity, and adorned with many passages of real pathos and great beauty. It appears to be the first essay of the authoress, who is, we believe, a lady whose husband holds a deservedly high place alike in public estimation and in native society. The little book is rich in promise, if it be really a first attempt ; and in any case, it is exactly of that kind which we should like to see much read by the young people of Bengal. Pure and refined in sentiment, simple and unaffected in language, it is evidently the work of one who is both good and clever. Its incidents and its moral lessons should go straight to the heart of every young Bengálí reader ; and we have no doubt it will rapidly obtain that popularity which it certainly deserves.

The following is a sketch of the plot of *Tárá-charita*. Rao Surtan, chief of Toda Tonk, had a lovely daughter named Tárá ; who was known throughout the neighbourhood not only for her superior personal beauty, but also for possessing extraordinary talents for war, which she occasionally employed in her father's wars with the Muhammadans. The latter, however, succeeded in the end in entirely defeating Rao Surtan, and turning him out of his principality. As Tárá with her father and attendants were travelling in search of a home they were overtaken by a body of cavalry headed by Jaymal, youngest son of Raymal, chief of Mewár. The young Rájput prince was at once smitten with her charms and promised to use the force under his command for recovering for her father possession of Toda Tonk, in case the fair Tárá should consent to become his bride. To this Tárá readily agreeing, Jaymal accompanied by the lovely Indian Jeanne D'Arc directed his march towards Toda Tonk. But the Muhammadans in possession proved far stronger than the sanguine young Rájput prince had expected, and the expedition turned out a failure. Jaymal was deeply affected by it ; and failing to obtain Tárá by fair means, determined to have recourse to foul. Rao Surtan apprised of his plans was so far transported by passion that forcibly entering Jaymal's tent, he fell upon him unawares and slew him with his own hand. When Raymal heard of the tragic death of his son and the circumstances which

Critical Notices.

had led to it, he was for a moment stunned by the intelligence ; but had the candour to admit that the young man had deserved the death he had received, and ordered his elder brother, Prithviráj, to renew the attempt for the recovery of Toda Tonk as an atonement for the insult which the deceased Jaymal had intended to Rao Surtan's daughter, and for wiping out the stain which the bare intention had cast on the honour of his own family. The Mewár chief also conferred on the houseless Surtan the principality of Bednor. Prithviráj was then about 21 years old, remarkably handsome, ambitious of military glory, and thoroughly skilled in the art of war. After a series of stratagems in which he was heroically seconded by the lovely Tárá who rode constantly at his side, Prithviráj succeeded in thoroughly routing the Moslem garrison of Toda Tonk which once more reverted to Rao Surtan's possession. Tárá soon became his wife, and left her father's house for Mewár, where she lived happily for about a year. But at last one evening as the young couple were enjoying the beauties of the surrounding scenery a letter arrived from the sister of Prithviráj who was the wife of the chief of Sirohi, complaining bitterly of the cruel treatment she was constantly receiving at the hands of her brutal opium-eating lord, and urgently requesting her brother's immediate interference. The generous nature of the young prince was touched by the appeal ; and early next morning, in spite of Tárá's weeping and lamentation, started for Sirohi. Arriving in the dusk of the evening he managed stealthily to obtain access to his sister's sleeping apartment where he remained concealed for a time, when man and wife came into it. With drawn sword Prithviráj met his brutal brother-in-law, taxed him with his unmanly behaviour towards his wife and threatened to kill him on the spot unless he promised immediate reformation. The Sirohi chief, taken unawares, made the promise ; but harboured deep resentment against the rude intruder who had extorted it. He feigned reconciliation with his wife and treated her brother with great seeming affection and tenderness. On the eve of Prithviráj's departure the wily Sirohi chief prepared with his own hands some sweetmeats which he mixed with a most subtle poison, and caused a quantity to be conveyed into his brother-in-law's luggage. Prithviráj set out for home the following morning ; and when about a mile or two from his father's capital he felt tired with the journey, and alighting from his horse ate some of the fatal sweetmeats. The effect was instantaneous ; and before his wife, to whom notice of his coming fate had been sent, could arrive, the generous and romantic youth breathed his last in the twenty-third year of his age. His young widow's lamentations were bitter and her grief not to be assuaged ; mounting her beloved husband's funeral pile she ended her life and her grief at the same time. Unable to bear the loss of such a son and such a

daughter-in-law, the chief of Mewár breathed his last very soon after this fatal tragedy.

It will be seen that the conclusion is a sad one, and its details highly tragical.

2. GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Tree of Intemperance. Part I. By Peary Churn Sircar, Professor of English Literature in Presidency College. Calcutta, 1874.

BABU PEARY CHURN SIRCAR has long been known as one of the leaders and veterans of that little band of philanthropists who are striving to stem the torrent of intemperance in this country. It is impossible to deny that English influence, whilst it has conferred and is conferring countless blessings on the inhabitants of Bengal—whilst it is gradually giving them knowledge and enlightenment and refinement and all the innumerable benefits of a high state of civilisation—is also answerable for the introduction of a curse which, if it be not resolutely confronted and its influence manfully stamped out, bids fair to neutralise all the blessings. We all know what the white man's "Fire Water" has done for the so-called Indians of North America, what it is doing for the natives of Australia and New Zealand; and now the unanimous testimony of the best and most patriotic men in Bengal is almost unanimous as to the evils that it is rapidly bringing on the rising generation of educated natives in this country. The fact undoubtedly is, that the drug which, taken in moderate quantities, exercises comparatively little influence on the more robust frames and the more vigorous constitutions of those who have been born and nurtured in a cold climate, acts as a most virulent poison—sometimes a slow poison, but none the less a poison—upon the weaker physique of other races. The writer of this brief notice will honestly confess that he himself is not a total abstainer; but he can nevertheless sympathise most heartily with the patriotic and benevolent feelings that have prompted the preparation of this little book, and with the wisdom of the advice which it offers. Indeed, it must be impossible for any non-abstaining Englishman, who is at the same time a thoughtful and earnest man, not to feel, on reading these evidently heartfelt words, that he and his countrymen in India have much to answer for, in their indifference to the spread of the body-destroying and soul-corrupting vice of drunkenness amongst their native fellow-subjects.

Bábu Peary Churn Sircar has attempted to arrest the attention

of the young readers for whom especially he writes, by putting his lecture into the form of a commentary on a quaint engraving of the *Tree of Intemperance*, with its roots and branches of noxious growth, inscribed with the names of the various allurements and fatal consequences of the vile habit. Those of our readers, who are familiar with the history of English literature, will remember that a similar artifice was used, with striking effect, by Quarles and many of our early "emblem-writers;" and doubtless the Bábu, who by long experience in tuition is well acquainted with the bent of the youthful native mind, is right in believing that such a device may be useful for his purpose. We will quote his introduction to the detailed description of the *Tree*:—

There is a picture of a large tree on the preceding page. Let us see what it is.

It is supported by long and strong roots; the stem is thick and stout; the branches are vigorous and wide-spreading; and the fruits large and plentiful.

But its aspect is dismal: no foliage to adorn it—no flowers to gladden the eye.

What figures do we see at the bottom? On one hand, SATAN watering the tree to nourish it; on the other, DEATH with axe uplifted ready to fell it down!

What do we see at the top? THE WRATH OF GOD descending in flames to consume the tree.

Such are the outlines of the TREE OF INTemperance.

Part I., which is before us, deals with the roots of this Upas-tree; the description of the branches and fruit is reserved for Part II., not yet published. The roots are (1) Bad Company, (2) Bad Example, (3) Want of the fear of God, (4) Sensuality, (5) Weakness of mind, (6) Bad Doctoring, (7) Plea of Moderation. Our readers will generally be familiar with most of what is said on the first five points; under the sixth and seventh headings Bábu Peary Churn Sircar has collected a good deal of information that will be new to many. The medical evidence adduced by the Bábu is certainly remarkably strong; whilst in pointing out the fallacy of the "Plea of Moderation," he has shown most conclusively that this plea, dangerous even amongst Europeans, is absolutely fatal to natives of India. This is a truth that cannot be too earnestly or too incessantly impressed on the minds of the rising generation in Bengal; and we sincerely hope that our young friends in this province will ponder it well. Let there be no paltering with the fiend, for in this case he who hesitates is lost.

We should be glad to hear that the *Tree of Intemperance* is read largely, and with that attention and respect which it deserves, in every society of educated natives throughout Bengal.

The Elements of the Psychology of Cognition. By Robert Jardine, B.D., D.Sc., Principal of the General Assembly's College, Calcutta, and Fellow of the University of Calcutta. London: Macmillan & Co., 1874.

THIS admirable Manual has been designed by Dr. Jardine, we are informed in the Preface, "principally for the use of students who are beginning their philosophical studies;" and we will at once state our conviction that no book has yet appeared so well calculated to be thoroughly useful in this way. Dr. Jardine's treatment of his subject is perfectly original. In his account of Cognition, the branch of Psychology which is best known and most simple, his teaching is strictly exoteric. Hence he is throughout perfectly intelligible, even to the tyro; and, if we mistake not, his book will be found to possess a real charm, and will be read with avidity by all young students of this most fascinating and yet generally most obscure subject. It appears to us to be, from an educational point of view, a work of the highest importance; really marking an epoch in the teaching of the science of psychology, in its deliberate and avowed determination to steer entirely clear of metaphysics, and in other points of treatment. On this account we intend to devote an article, in our next number, to its careful discussion and criticism; but in the meantime we sincerely hope that the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta will make the book a text-book for its B.A. examination in philosophy, an arrangement which we are sure will be liked both by students and by professors.

The Stories of the Italian Operas. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1874.

OUR first feeling, on looking through this very useful little brochure, was one of surprise, that so obvious a want as that which is here supplied should have been allowed to remain so long unprovided for. All Opera-goers know well that an acquaintance with the story of an Opera is essential to a thorough enjoyment of its finest dramatic passages, and even of its music. It is true that dramatic effect is of less importance in Opera than musical effect; still, the artistic combination of the two is the very essence of Opera, and that which distinguishes it from other forms of musical rendering. And yet few people will take the trouble to read carefully through a *libretto*; and indeed, to say sooth, one can hardly imagine a more disagreeable task than such reading. The "argument" that is generally prefixed to a *libretto* is far too meagre to be of any real use; and the style of both argument and *libretto* is generally simply repulsive.

In the little book before us we get a collection of stories charmingly told, and showing a fine appreciation of the dramatic points of each Opera described ; thus exactly supplying the needs of the Opera-goer.

But it is not by Opera-goers only, or even chiefly, that the *Stories of the Italian Operas* will be valued. The vast majority of educated Englishmen have never lived in a city boasting an Italian Opera ; and consequently their acquaintance with Opera is only that derived from an occasional visit. To such, the stories of the chief Operas, told in an agreeable style, at no great length and in a compact and handy form, will be particularly useful. Current English literature, and even the ordinary daily conversations of our dinner-tables, necessarily abound with references to the characters and the incidents of these Operas, which must often be unintelligible except to the initiated. An hour or two bestowed on the book before us will enable any one to understand and appreciate all such allusions as well as a man who has been for years an *habitué* of Covent Garden or Her Majesty's.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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ART I.—FAMINE AND STATE DUTY.—(*Independent Section.*)

In vain our pent wills flet,
And would the world subdue.
Limits we did not set
Condition all we do ;
Born into life we are, and life must be our mould.

The world's course proves the terms
On which man wins content ,
Reason the proof confirms ;
We spurn it, and invent
A false course for the world, and for ourselves false powers.

I say : Fear not ! Life still
Leaves human effort scope.
But since life teems with ill,
Nurse no extravagant hope ,
Because thou must not dream, thou need'st not then despair !

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

It may, indeed, be difficult for those who have but little faith in the invisible to follow out a principle unflinchingly, in spite of every threatening evil—to give up their own power of judging what *seems* best from the belief that that only is best which is abstractedly right—to say, 'although appearances are against it, yet will I obey the law.' Nevertheless, this is the true attitude to assume ; the conduct which it has been the object of all moral teaching to inculcate ; the only conduct which can eventually answer.

HERBERT SPENCER.

THE gap which separates the Government of British India from its subjects is, probably, wider than that which divides the rulers and the ruled in any other part of the world where the task of civilising an inferior race is being attempted by foreigners upon any considerable scale. Or, if

the difference which exists between ourselves and Hindus be not greater than that between the French and the Arabs of Algeria, or between the people of Central Asia and their Russian conquerors, it is at any rate brought into stronger relief by the higher theory of Government duty which we have adopted. Our errors of omission and commission are, indeed, sufficiently numerous and grave; but after all has been said, they are the result rather of ignorance and miscalculation than of deliberate and selfish disregard of the interests of the people, which is probably more than could be affirmed of any similarly situated body of foreigners. And it is this difference which makes us practically feel the width of the gulf which divides us from the masses. So long as the only care of a ruling race is to keep down and make profit out of its subjects, the inferiority in civilisation of the latter is a cause of satisfaction rather than of regret. But in proportion as a desire to elevate the ruled enters into the motives of the ruler, does the disparity of their respective civilisations become a source of anxiety and embarrassment. The schoolmaster, in a word, finds difficulties where his predecessor, the slave-driver, found none.

The difficulties which spring from this want of homogeneity between ourselves and our subjects must necessarily affect, whether in the way of narrowing or extending, the limits of Governmental action in India, as compared with other countries in which a greater degree of such homogeneity exists. When one reflects how much has been written in England, not to speak of France and Germany, on the duties of the State, it seems somewhat strange that no attempt has ever, so far as we are aware, been made to lay down anything like a rationale of those duties in India. It is, of course, true in a general way that where the spirit of private enterprise is weak, the circle which may be advantageously filled by the activity of Government is proportionally large; but this commonplace, though it covers a good deal of the difference between the position of an European and of a progressive Asiatic Government, does not seem an adequate formula for the expression of the whole of that difference. Speculation on so apparently abstract a subject will doubtless appear a sufficiently unprofitable pursuit to most members of this exceedingly practical community. But if it can be shown to be possible to lay down any reliable principles, by conformity or non-conformity to which any given enterprise on the part of the state might be safely approved or condemned, why, then, the most "rugged Brindley" of us all will hardly deny that the subject may really possess considerable practical importance. Such an enquiry should not be confounded with the "constitution-mongering" of which most Englishmen have so healthy, though perhaps somewhat exaggerated, a dislike. The attempt to impose

a paper constitution on a nation, and the attempt to determine what things a Government may, and what things it may not, advantageously do, "are hardly even akin." The following pages have no pretensions to contain anything like a complete theory of State duty in India, but the writer ventures to hope that they may do something to attract attention to the subject, and he feels quite sure that such attention has never been more needed at any period in the history of British India than the present.

Twenty-four years ago, Mr. Herbert Spencer in his "Social Statics"—perhaps the most profoundly original treatise on social philosophy ever written in England—laid down certain reasons for believing in human perfectibility, from which he deduced a theory of *laissez faire* in its extremest form; and the inadequacy of these reasons, when regarded with reference to this and other backward countries, seems to illustrate a radical distinction between the sphere of Government action in England and in India. The passage is already so compressed that it must be quoted entire.

"All imperfection is unfitness to the conditions of existence.

"This unfitness must consist either in having a faculty or faculties in excess; or in having a faculty or faculties deficient, or in both.

"A faculty in excess is one which the conditions of existence do not afford full exercise to; and a faculty that is deficient is one from which the conditions of existence demand more than it can perform.

"But it is an essential principle of life that a faculty to which circumstances do not allow full exercise diminishes; and that a faculty on which circumstances make excessive demands increases.

"And so long as this excess and this deficiency continue, there must continue decrease on the one hand and growth on the other.

"Finally, all excess and all deficiency must disappear; that is, all unfitness must disappear; that is, all imperfection must disappear." (Social Statics. Part I., Cap. II.)

Now, the most obvious exception to be taken here is to the definition of "imperfection" contained in the first of the six sentences which we have quoted. Whether unfitness to the conditions of existence is or is not, imperfection, must depend entirely on the nature of those conditions. Were it otherwise, there could be no such thing as absolute perfection, either actual or conceivable, for, as the nature of conditions varies infinitely, it would be necessary that the perfection which consists in adaptation to them should vary also, and the notion of ethical perfection would be altogether excluded. The fallacy appears to lie in the ambiguous use of the word "perfection" throughout this portion of Mr. Spencer's work, the term being first employed to indicate physical adaptation; and

secondly, moral excellence. A Hottentot, or a North American Indian, is, probably, more closely adapted to the conditions of existence in his own country than a dweller in London or Paris to the conditions which prevail in those cities; and for this reason, that the conditions of savage are very much more simple than those of civilised life, and therefore adaptation to them is much more easy. Moreover, the former have existed unchanged for a very much longer period than the latter, and, as practice has a tendency to make perfect, the savage would naturally be more complete and less imperfect *quâ* savage, than the civilised man, *quâ* civilised man. But an average Londoner or Parisian would hardly, by Mr. Spencer at least, be accounted a less perfect being than an average Hottentot or North American Indian. Similarly, a fruit-tree transplanted from a garden into a field and left to nature, will in course of time adapt itself to its new environment, and cease to bear edible fruit, but it could scarcely be considered a less imperfect tree when the deteriorating process was complete than when it had only just begun. So with an individual man or race of men; given permanent and degrading conditions, a permanently degraded type will be produced.

Nor, again, can the assertion that "a faculty to which circumstances do not allow full exercise diminishes," be accepted as by any means universally true. Indeed, it is not easy to understand how such a sentence could have been written in the face of the tremendous fact of the existence of unprogressive and even retrograde races. A faculty, in the sense in which Mr. Spencer employs the term, must be held to include an appetite, and an appetite, hunger for instance, does not always diminish when circumstances do not allow it full play, or does not diminish sufficiently to remove the discrepancy between constitution and conditions. Appetite for food cannot, consistently with the continuance of life, be diminished below a certain not very elastic *minimum*, and food does not necessarily become more plentiful because more of it is needed. It is only where the actual supply falls short of this *minimum* demand to a very considerable extent that death steps in to cut the Gordian knot. Within these limits there is an ample margin for the play of this permanent discrepancy of the existence and operation of which India is a sufficient illustration.

Neither, again, does "a faculty on which circumstances make excessive demands" always increase. Extreme poverty and liability to frequent dearths and occasional famines render needful the faculties of foresight and economy. The great mass of the people of India are, and for hundreds, if not thousands of years, have been extremely poor, and exposed to dearths and famines, but they have certainly not acquired much foresight, and their extravagance at marriages and funerals is notoriously excessive.

It is probable that Mr. Spencer was thinking only of European societies when he wrote the passage in question, and in the most progressive, at any rate, of those societies, this alleged spontaneous tendency toward amelioration is sufficiently real to go far to justify the thorough going theory of *laissez faire* which he derives from it. The merits of the theory as applied to England, need not be discussed here; but the fact that systematic non-interference would not in England be incompatible with progress—though it might, temporarily, at least, slacken its pace—whereas, if applied to India, it would, if experience may be trusted, put an entire stop to progress, brings into strong relief the difference between the duties of the State in the two countries. And if this is so, if *laissez faire* is practicable, and, on the whole, desirable in England, while it is neither one nor the other in India, there must be a reason for its being so; and it is important to grasp clearly the true nature of the distinction.

Mr. Mill has somewhere observed that "the grounds of a principle, when well understood, usually give a tolerable indication of the limits of it;" and the remark may be of service here. It will, probably, be admitted that Governmental interference and indeed the existence of Government at all, is always, in itself, an evil. And this is true even of the least objectionable forms of interference, namely, those which aim at the protection of person, property, and character. It may be, often is, the lesser of two evils; and as long as imperfection exists, as long as violence and dishonesty and other modes of wrong-doing prevail, so long will the exercise of the collective powers of society for purposes of repression and regulation be indispensable. But it should never be forgotten that every such exertion of power is in itself an evil, inasmuch as it interferes with the fundamental principle upon which society is based, "liberty of each limited only by the like liberty of all." With the possibility, however, of ultimately dispensing with Government altogether, we have no present concern. It can be but a dream of the future, an ideal which may perhaps, be realized if the world lasts long enough. All we can, hope to do is to reduce the sphere of State-interference to the smallest extent which may be found compatible with the general advantage. This, indeed, is nothing new, but what has been said above seems to indicate the grounds of the obvious maxim that the sphere of Governmental action varies inversely with the degree of advancement attained by the community, and, moreover, points the way to the somewhat less obvious principle that it also varies inversely with the degree of homogeneity which prevails between the Government and its subjects or constituents.

A country which has once attained a certain stage of advancement, which has outgrown the superstitious reverence for custom

and the other obstacles which beset the growth of primitive societies may with tolerable safety, and indeed in the main, *must* be trusted to continue its progress without the adventitious stimulus of State interference. A country, moreover, of which the civilisation is indigenous and has been worked out by itself from within, *can* receive comparatively little aid from its Government, which will be so homogeneous with its subjects as to have little assistance or advice to offer them which they cannot obtain as well or better elsewhere. All that such a Government can do is judiciously to adjust and distribute the actually existing forces. The Governments, for instance, of the most advanced countries of Western Europe, England, France, and Germany, have no pretensions to do anything more than represent the average intelligence of the respective peoples.

But in India, where civilisation, in the modern sense of the term, is an exotic, the secret of growing which is known to its foreign rulers alone, the duty of the State is considerably wider. And the key to the difference appears to be in the fact that in India long standing wants do not bring about their own satisfaction. Continued hunger does not produce a sufficiency of food; uncertainty of subsistence does not produce foresight; urgent, though half-unconscious, need of exact scientific instruction does not give birth to the education which alone can satisfy it. Unless these and countless other reforms can be set on foot by the State, there seems no reasonable prospect of their ever being set on foot at all. Mere tranquillity, simple preservation of the peace, will not bring about progress, unless a society has in itself the germ of growth. And to implant that germ, to impart an impulse towards civilisation, to inoculate the people with something of the modern spirit, is the work which the Government of India has got to perform. It must, on the one hand, so mould outward circumstances, and on the other, so tutor the intelligence of the people, that the two may act and re-act on each other until they between them generate a force sufficient to lift the masses out of the ever-deepening pit of stagnation in which centuries of immobility have left them. The first indispensable conditions of success in this attempt are the maintenance of order and tranquillity, and the administration of equal and easily accessible justice. The fulfilment of these conditions secures us a medium in which the real work of education and enlightenment may be done; and without such a medium that work could no more be carried on than certain experiments could be performed without the previous exhaustion of the atmosphere by an air-pump. Thus, on the one hand, to keep the field of our operations free from disturbing agencies, and, on the other, to carry on the operations themselves, is of itself, one would think, a sufficiently complex

task. But there is at present a very strong tendency to add to its complexity, and that to a degree which threatens to render it absolutely impossible. The writer ventures to submit that it is no part of our duty, rightly comprehended, even if it were not altogether beyond our power, to save the people from the penalty of disobedience to economic laws. Tonics and solvents, not anodynes and opiates, are the remedies required. And by tonics and solvents is not meant vexatious interference with the details of daily life and with personal freedom, but measures calculated to awaken intelligence. Economic foresight is the most pressing need of the people of India. The logic of facts has been appealing to them to learn the lesson for many a long century, and appealing in vain, for they lacked, and still lack the capacity for understanding its teaching. It is for us to point out to them the nature of the law, not to attempt the desperate task of interfering with its working. It is our duty to help them to make life tolerable for themselves while they live, but it is distinctly not our duty to keep them alive ; in the first place, because it is out of our power to do so consistently and continuously ; and secondly, because, even if it were in our power, success would be ruinous to the very qualities, already grievously deficient, on which all their hopes of future progress depend. To come to the point:—the British Public at home, and the Government of India here, have arrived at the conclusion that it is the duty of the State to see that no human being ever dies for want of food, Now is this a tenable position ? The question is, perhaps, the most important that has ever been raised in India, whether the answer to it be Yea or Nay.

That the question should have been raised sooner or later was inevitable, and a mere matter of time. The causes which have now brought it to the front are mainly two : first and most important, the growth among ourselves of humanitarian feeling ; and secondly, the actually increasing frequency of scarcities of food, arising from increased density of population and other minor economical agencies. As for the growth of philanthropic sentiment, it has had its origin in England, and is a tendency which we should be the last to deplore or depreciate. The existence among us of a stronger sympathy for the sorrows of mankind, apart even from any practical effect which it may produce in diminishing those sorrows, is by its ethical effect in widening and deepening the moral range of those who feel it, a distinct gain to humanity. The number of those to whom an ever-present consciousness of the misery of men is their own chief sorrow is small enough absolutely, but it can hardly be doubted that in England and other civilised countries, it is greater now than it has ever been hitherto. The actual sum of suffering among the poorer classes is, probably, much

the same now as in former ages, but the richer classes know more of it. Newspapers, much of modern poetry, and Dickens's novels, are among the causes which have brought it home to us as it has never been brought home before. This increased sensibility undeniably has its dangers, but in itself it is a good, and only needs wise guidance to bring forth good results. With regard to the second cause which has brought into prominence the question of State duty in times of dearth, *viz.*, the more frequent recurrence of these periods, its reality may perhaps be called in question, and it is impossible to speak of it without considerable diffidence. Whether famines really are more frequent now than they were a century or even half a century ago, is not easy to ascertain, owing mainly to the comparative indifference with which they were then regarded by Government, and the consequently slight record which has been preserved of them. A passage from Mr. C. E. R. Girdlestone's Famine Report is sufficient evidence on this point :

"In former days, reports were neither so detailed nor so systematic as they are now. Famines and such like catastrophes were accepted as necessary evils, to be alleviated as far as possible at the time, and to be forgotten as soon as the emergency had passed. Though more than one Collector in his correspondence during the spring of 1804 casually mentions that he had adopted measures of relief on account of the prevailing distress, not a single one seems to have recognized the advantage which it might be to posterity to know in what manner he was providing for the destitute, or what was the price of wheat in his neighbourhood. Such was the spirit of the period that these were evidently regarded as unimportant items for a public letter. The realization of the revenue was then the all-absorbing topic, and the correspondence represents faithfully, not to say exclusively, the alternate hopes and fears in this respect. So long as a man could say that he had collected all that was due on behalf of Government, he might reckon on escaping censure ; but if instalments were unpaid and balances were accruing, he was fortunate if he could devise reasons which would reconcile his superiors to the emptiness of his treasury, and no excuse that he had been looking after the wants of the poor and helpless was likely to compensate in their eyes for his disregard of the pecuniary interests of the State."

The attitude thus depicted is certainly inferior in moral worth to that of the present generation of officials. But it is a mournful truth, that the course of conduct resulting from ignorance and insensibility often resembles far more closely the line of action which would be suggested by keen sensibility coupled with complete knowledge, than that which is prompted by newly awakened consciousness united with imperfect intellectual

appreciation of facts. It may be that the present is a case in point. But whatever the nature of the answer which experience may ultimately return to the question, whether it is the duty of the State to find food for the hungry in times of dearth or not, it seems clear that that question has, for the present, at least, been decided in the affirmative without much attention being paid to the arguments which may be adduced on the opposite side. And it may, perhaps, be urged on behalf of the course that has been followed, that the Government of India, placed in a perplexing position which demanded immediate action, has acted on its instincts, and adopted the principle of saving life regardless of expense. It may, indeed, be replied that the point of State duty with regard to famine is one upon which the Government of any country, but especially of a country like India, should have its mind definitely made up without waiting for circumstances to force it to a conclusion. Very possibly, however, the course pursued has been the result of deliberate conviction. But even in that case it might be well that the question should not be regarded as finally settled beyond all possibility of re-consideration. There is no disguising the enormous importance of the principle at stake, and it is surely well that we should make up our minds clearly as to what its adoption in permanence may involve. Its abandonment when once fairly embraced will be infinitely difficult, and before thus embracing it we may well call to mind the words of Goethe, as applicable to the State as to the individual: "Happy is he who is not compelled to reconcile himself with fate by altering the whole course of his previous life." But no intelligent decision can be arrived at without hearing the *cons* as well as the *pros*, and even those—and they are, probably, many—who hold that the subject does not admit of two opinions may consent, if they will call to mind the practice of the Roman Church when about to canonize a saint, to hearken for a little even to one whom they will doubtless regard as an *advocatus diaboli*.

The case under consideration may be briefly stated thus:—British India contains a population of about one hundred and eighty millions, principally agriculturists, spread over an area almost as large as Europe without Russia, and including very great varieties of soil and climate. This population has always, so far as is known, been subject to frequent scarcities and occasional famines; and, indeed, the extent of the country is so great, and its soil varies so widely, that hardly a year passes without a dearth, or five years without a famine, in some portion or other of the empire. The principal characteristics of the great mass of the people, of Northern India at any rate, are dense ignorance, intense conservatism, and extreme poverty. They are generally frugal, and all but the higher castes are sufficiently industrious, but all

classes are occasionally very extravagant. Economically speaking, the population in nearly all the regularly-cultivated and long-settled regions is redundant, *i.e.*, is more than sufficient to make the most of the soil, and the only checks on its increase have been want of food, war, and disease. The second cause has of late years almost entirely ceased to act, and the operation of the third is supposed to have been considerably diminished. Be that as it may, by far the principal check on population is, at present, want of subsistence; and there can be little doubt that population has, during recent years, considerably increased, though cultivation has, probably, extended in a still larger proportion. Now, for some time past, and more especially during the last ten years, the moral sensibility of the educated English Public has become considerably more acute than it was before, and being naturally very much shocked at the horrors of starvation, they have laid down the principle, that in any region where famine may be officially held to exist, no human being shall be permitted to die for want of food, if a free expenditure of State taxes—raised, it may be observed, with considerable difficulty from the people—can prevent it. In other words, they have determined that the whole population of this enormous country shall be compelled to mutually ensure each other's lives against the contingency of famine in any part of it. The question necessarily arises:—What is likely to be the result of the consistent application of this novel principle?

There are two main grounds on which this principle may be impugned; firstly, that to carry it out consistently is beyond our power; and secondly, that even if it were within our power, success would be, if possible, more disastrous than failure. Let us try to deal first with the question of practicability. We have no wish to make capital out of any errors of detail which may have been committed in the treatment of the late famine, from which Bengal has just emerged. All that is here contended for is the principle at stake, and we desire to state the case against us as strongly as possible. Let it be assumed, then, that in future scarcities operations will be conducted as economically as possible, and "demoralization" of the people avoided so far as may be. The expenditure incurred during the twelve months from October 1873 to October 1874, has been estimated, roughly, indeed, but by good authority, at six millions. It is not likely to be less, and may be more. Let it be conceded that one million of this amount may be regarded as expended in consequence of miscalculations which the experience that has been now gained would prevent from occurring in future. Five millions will thus be left as the genuine *bond fide* famine expenditure in Bengal from 1873 to 1874. Now, how often may it be anticipated that this drain to the resources of the State will occur? Let us turn again to

Mr. Girdlestone's Report. We there read that if famine be defined as "want—though only felt over a limited area—provided the scarcity reaches starvation point," there have occurred no less than twelve famines during the last seventy years, or rather more than one famine year in six. The years in question, as given by Mr. Girdlestone, were 1803-4, 1813-14, 1819, 1825-26, 1827-28, 1832-34, 1837-38, 1860-61, 1865, and 1867, to which must be added 1868-69, and 1874. Three of these, at any rate, were calamities of the first-class: those of 1803-4, 1837-38, and 1860-61. And all these, it should be remembered, occurred in the North-West Provinces alone. There have also been famines in the Punjab, Rajpootana, Orissa, and Bengal Proper, to say nothing of Oudh.

Now, what is likely to be the expenditure incurred in the course of the next ten years, if we steadily carry out the principle that no life shall be lost for lack of food? The subject does not admit of anything but an exceedingly rough estimate, but that to be now proposed will, probably, not be considered to err on the side of extravagance. Let us assume that once in every ten years we shall have to deal with one first-class famine, involving an expenditure of five millions, one second-class famine causing a drain of three, and one-third class famine of two millions, and an annual scarcity in some part or other of the Empire, requiring an expenditure of one million. Our famine bill will thus amount to two millions yearly, twenty millions in each decade, two hundred millions in each century. Now, are the finances of the Empire capable of supporting this strain, which, as will be noticed hereafter, is probably much less severe than that which would be actually put upon them? Let us consider a little the relative positions of England and India. The United Kingdom contains, roughly speaking, thirty millions of inhabitants, who pay without any serious difficulty taxes aggregating about seventy millions yearly, or two pounds six shillings and eight pence a head. British India has a population of about one hundred and eighty millions from whom is collected, with great difficulty, a revenue of about fifty millions sterling, of which twenty-eight millions or so are not taxes at all in the English sense of the term; twenty-one millions of land revenue being really rent, which would, in England, be paid to landlords instead of to the State, and seven millions, the average opium revenue, being really levied from the Chinese. This leaves twenty-two millions of actual taxation raised from one hundred and eighty millions of people, or about half a crown a head. So far, then, as the wealth of a country can be estimated by the ability of its people to bear taxation, the wealth of India is to that of England as two shillings and six pence to two pounds six shillings and eight pence, or less than one-eighteenth

When it is considered that India pays her half crown a head with very much greater difficulty than England pays her two pounds six shillings and eight pence, some notion may be obtained of the intense poverty of the former. The famine expenditure, calculated at its lowest rate of two millions yearly, would thus add nearly nine per cent. to the taxation at present actually paid by the people. Would the occasional saving of life in different parts of the Empire, which might be effected by the money thus raised, be an adequate compensation to the tax-payers of the Empire generally, for this increase of their burthens? The rich in India are so very few, and so vast a majority are exceedingly poor, that no tax can really draw which does not fall upon the poor, *i.e.*, the huge majority. It must not be forgotten that there is such a thing as

propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

The life of the masses in India is not a very desirable thing at best, and the tendency of the principle under discussion is distinctly to render this life still less desirable than it actually is, while largely increasing, or at least saving from diminution, the number of those who live it. If successfully carried out, it would exempt the people from liability to an occasional short, sharp agony, while making their average daily life very much harder and more pinched. Any one who knows how terribly near the vanishing point the comforts of life for the masses already are, and how terribly hard it is to raise their standard of living can hardly resolve, "with a light heart," to sink that standard still lower. If it is a terrible thing to die, it may be still more terrible to live, and it may well be maintained that the increased taxation which the new principle involves will do more to diminish the sum of happiness in India than the results attained by the expenditure of that taxation will do to increase it.

Nor is this by any means the whole case against the practicability of State relief in time of famine. Hitherto we have been proceeding on the hypothesis that the new arrangement will continue to work under the same conditions as those under which it was started. This assumption is demonstrably incorrect. If the measures of relief succeed at all in the object aimed at, they will prevent the population from being kept down by those occasional scarcities which have hitherto been the main check on its increase. The more effectual the relief, the greater will be the number of persons to be saved at the next occurrence of famine in the same region, and the greater, consequently, will be the necessary expenditure. We shall thus have on each occasion, when relief is found requisite, a population more dense, and therefore more liable to famines each of which will be more expensive to obviate than the last. There does not seem to be any escape from this conclusion;

whether it has been fully realized by the British Public or that section of it which governs India, is not quite so certain.

The consideration of this disturbing agency leads to the second of the two charges which have been brought against the principle of State relief, *viz.*, that success would be even more disastrous than failure. And it is on this ground, the ground of principle rather than of consequences, that the case against Government interference in this matter seems to us to be strongest. Probable results, indeed, may often be fairly regarded as a test of truth, and are made so far more often than they are really entitled to be. But we hold with Mazzini, that "utility is a consequence to be foreseen, not a principle to be invoked;" and if the system against which we are arguing could be shown to be based on ascertained sociological laws, we should be the last to deprecate the conduct of a party which fearlessly acted on its belief in spite of appearances however threatening. But, on the contrary, the measures proposed appear to us to set at defiance the most fundamental laws on which human welfare has been shown by experience to rest, and, indeed, to be nothing less than negation of political economy erected into a system.

That is an exceedingly narrow and consequently mistaken conception of political economy which regards it as merely the theory of *laissez-faire*. That this conception of it should be so common as it is, is probably due to the fact that the science—(if our Positivist friends will allow us to call it so)—came into contact when it first arose with sundry restrictive and cumbrous regulations, such as the mercantile system, protection of native industry, and others, over which it has now happily triumphed by opposing to them the principles of free trade, an important branch of the still wider law of the "freedom of each, limited only by the equal freedom of all." Political economy has positive resources as well as negative; though it is doubtless true that the most important services which it has hitherto performed, have been wrought by showing the injurious results of many kinds of State interference. The attacks of Comte and his followers, though the results, we venture to think of an imperfect comprehension of the subject, have yet contributed much towards establishing economical theory on a sound footing, by drawing attention to the radical distinction between those miscalled laws which have no other basis than positive morality and existing social arrangements, and those real laws of nature which are beyond the control of human will. The absence of a clear perception of this distinction, a confusion of the transient and arbitrary with the permanent and unalterable, is the source of much of the distrust with which most people regard an appeal to political economy for the decision of any question in which their feelings

and sympathies are warmly engaged. Similar is the effect—though on a much smaller land at present less influential class, of a reaction against the doctrine of evolution of which, as Mr. John Morley, with the somewhat bitter emphasis of his school, remarks that “our generation is so enamoured, as the key-word to universal development, as to believe that the true philosophy is to wait in the patience of a sublime contemplation until all abuses have evolved themselves out of the way.” The truth seems to be that evolution never encroaches on the legitimate sphere of human effort, but that all attempts on the part of human effort to interfere with evolution must be disastrous failures.

Now, if the portion of economical doctrine with which a system of State relief is in conflict, were a mere outwork or superstructure of the science—if the question at issue were one of currency or customs, or of direct or indirect taxation—one would feel extreme diffidence in resisting on grounds of economic theory alone, a consensus of sympathetic feeling so widely spread and containing so much that is worthy of esteem as that which is at the bottom of the scheme against which we are contending. But it is not so. State relief of famine is based on the negation of the most fundamental and important portion of political economy, that portion, *viz.*, which deals with the question of population and subsistence. If there is a proposition which may be justifiably regarded as proved beyond dispute, which may, indeed, as by Comte and his disciples, be passionately denied, but which has never—and so long as laws of mind and matter remain unchanged—can never be disproved, it is surely this—that the material, and consequently the moral and intellectual welfare of any agricultural community, of which the population is economically redundant, depends upon the extent to which population relatively to subsistence can be kept down—is, in short, a function of two variables, consumption and production. To quote from a recent paper in this *Review*,—“Population and subsistence are always running an endless race, and the material well-being of any society depends, *ceteris paribus*, upon the extent to which it can succeed in handicapping population. It is, of course, a physical impossibility for population actually to *outrun* subsistence; but it may press on it so closely as to leave no margin upon which men may pause a breathing space, no interval of rest which they can devote to any higher aim than the provision for merely physical needs.” In one way or another, the proportion between the number of mouths to be filled and the quantity of food available to fill them has to be maintained, if not by the moral forces of prudence and self-restraint, then by the physical forces of death and disease. The less the effectiveness of the former class of agencies, the

greater must be the effectiveness of the latter, and the material well-being of any society depends mainly upon the extent to which the moral check can render the action of the physical check unnecessary. Recognition of and obedience to this law is, perhaps, the hardest lesson which mankind have to learn. It has been very imperfectly mastered even in Europe, and can hardly be said to have been as yet comprehended at all by any Asiatic community. But it is a lesson which has to be learnt sooner or later as the indispensable preliminary, in any old country, to all permanent economical progress; and the fact that the people of India have not yet begun to learn it is surely no valid reason for removing the one influence which can force it upon them. Uninstructed minds need a definite, palpable stimulus to induce them to adopt an unwonted or unpalatable course of conduct, and it is not too much to say that if the fear of death by starvation be once removed, by far the most considerable motive for economic foresight and restraint on multiplication will be removed with it. The notion of the Government of India stepping in as a *Deus ex machina* to take upon itself the burthen of providing food for this immense population in times of dearth is, indeed, sufficiently saved from absurdity by a certain grandeur of conception; but it is none the less a notion irreconcilable with the ultimate constitution of things; it is at war with nature, and must be worsted.

The action of the English Government in dealing with the great Irish Famine of 1846-1847 may, perhaps, be quoted as a precedent of the amount of relief which may successfully be administered by State agency. But the treatment of the Irish Famine was not really a precedent at all for the course which seems to have been resolved upon in India. It was an isolated and unique event which has never re-occurred, is not likely to re-occur, and the re-occurrence of which was never contemplated at the time. The conduct of the English Government and people was prompted by no deliberate policy, but by a sudden outburst of compassion and remorse for the wrongs which had been systematically inflicted on the people of Ireland. Lastly, the effects of English liberality were so far modified as to be altogether obscured by the extensive emigration which followed. No trustworthy argument in support of what it is now proposed to do in India can be drawn from what was then done in Ireland, apart altogether from the enormously vaster dimensions and more difficult conditions of the Indian problem.

It may be contended with some plausibility that the pernicious system of land tenure which prevails in Bengal Proper and is upheld by our rule, gives the peasantry a moral claim to State support which they would not otherwise possess. It is, probably, true that the Bengal land system is one of the worst in the world; but those who support a system of State relief of famine on this

ground, are really advocating the commission of a new mistake to prop up an old one. Granting the land system of Bengal to be utterly bad, the natural conclusion would seem to be that it should be amended, not that a fresh departure from fundamental principles should be committed, to prevent an already existing error from collapsing. This would, indeed, be to daub a tottering wall with untempered mortar. Wrong doing can only be healed by right doing, not by further wrong. The ruinous consequences of departure from nature's rule can only, if at all, be averted by retracing our steps till we are once more in harmony with it; never by a further breach of it.

Another ground on which it may, perhaps, be maintained, to be the duty of the Indian Government to feed its hungry poor, also rests on the peculiar nature of Indian land tenure. So far the argument derived from it resembles that with which we have just dealt, but the two arguments are mutually incompatible not to say destructive. The former class of reasoners maintain that as we have deprived the peasant of his land, and given it away to landlords, we are bound to assist him in his time of need. The latter, on the contrary, argue that as the joint partners of the landholders in the land, we are under an obligation to support them and those dependent on them, when they are unable to support themselves. The facts involved in both arguments are no doubt locally true. The former applies mainly to Lower Bengal; the latter to the North-West Provinces, the Panjáb and Oudh. But neither ground seems to us to support the conclusion which it is attempted to derive from it. The remedy proposed for the defects of the land tenure of Bengal, could be at best but a temporary palliation which would ultimately aggravate the evil. And the obligation, which is alleged to arise as an incident of our position as joint owners of the soil, does not really arise at all. No peculiarities of land tenure can alter the duty of the State on this vital point. If, as is now becoming a recognized axiom of political philosophy, the best possible mode of securing an income sufficient for purposes of Government is that the rent of land should belong to the State, India certainly approximates more nearly to this ideal than any European country. It will, probably, be admitted that in no ideal State would it be the task of Government—whose functions would by the hypothesis be reduced to a minimum—to feed the people. But it is difficult to see why the fact that India approximates more nearly than other countries to the notion of an ideal State in the former respect, should necessitate or unjustify a departure from that ideal in the latter.

The whole question must be looked at from some wider point of view than that of merely relieving immediate suffering and our feelings of compassion. If it could be foreseen that the end

of the world was to come next year, or even ten or twenty years hence, not a word could be said against the effort, however costly, to make the hungry and needy as comfortable as possible for the short space of life which would remain to them and their progeny. Our credit, if employed without stint, would probably suffice to procure the wherewithal to maintain in comparative luxury the existing population and any addition which could possibly be made to it during so brief a period; and as for the qualities of foresight, economy, and self-restraint, which would inevitably disappear, why, they have no ethical or practical value apart from the external conditions which render their exercise necessary, and if the conditions should cease to exist, we might very well dispense with the qualities also. As, however, there is no present reason of which we are aware for supposing that the course of the world under the conditions of which we have experience is likely to come to an end at any assignable period, and as the predictions of Dr. Cumming and his *confrères*, whatever their other merits, are incapable of satisfactory verification, it does seem as if the line of conduct which would on that hypothesis be simply common sense—is, on any other supposition, simply uncommon folly. Such may be, and in many cases doubtless is, the counsel of sincere lovers of the human race; but one does, at times, feel tempted to say with Terence—*amentium haud amantium*.

For what is the inevitable result of the operations only just now concluded in Bengal and Behar? A considerable number of lives have, probably, been saved, and a great deal of physical suffering certainly averted. That is in itself an undeniable gain. But at what cost, apart altogether from the money expended, has this gain been secured? Has it not been impressed in the strongest possible manner upon the mind of every peasant throughout Bengal that there is no necessity for him to lay by for a day of scarcity or to limit the numbers of his family, for if a famine should come again it will be converted by Government into an artificial plenty, so that he who has saved and he who has not saved will be on the same footing? Or if it be said that the ideas of laying by for a day of scarcity or of limiting the numbers of his family have never entered the mind of a Bengal peasant, it cannot, at least, be denied that we have done all that in us lay to prevent the possibility of their so entering. An opponent may, perhaps, rejoin that "as men have been such are men," and that the notion of an Indian ryot or day labourer ever acquiring the faculties of prudence and self-restraint is—if not too absurd to be discussed—at least too far remote to be worthy of practical consideration. To which it seems a sufficient answer to say that if the Indian ryot is ever to ascend in the scale of being, it will not be until centuries hence, perhaps, he has made some advance in those

same faculties, and that the tendency of our action has distinctly been to retard the date of his doing so. If the strongest possible stimulus to foresight, the dread of death by starvation, has hitherto failed to produce the quality desired, no weaker inducement is likely to prevail.

Let us just consider for a moment a concrete case. Suppose a couple of ryots living in the same village. Láchár Baksh has a wife and ten small children, and the joint property of the family consists of a hovel, while its individual members have nothing they can call their own save a rag and a *lotah* apiece. His neighbour, Chaturdin, is also a poor man, but his family consists of only a wife and two children, and he has a little store of money and grain sufficient to carry him through a period of scarcity, not without pinching, indeed, but without fear of starvation. The famine comes. Government steps in, and provides food and employment for Láchár Baksh and his family, down to the two-year old child, which earns its livelihood by making mud pies on the side of the road where its father does a moderate day's work, instead of amusing itself in the same way in front of the paternal hovel. Now, what more can the Government do for Chaturdin? Nay, it cannot do so much, for he has only four mouths to be filled, while Láchár Baksh has twelve. Supposing him to be extremely public-spirited, he stays at home, and supports himself and his family on his savings, and by the end of the famine, he and Láchár Baksh are, probably, much on the same level. If his public spirit is not extreme, he goes to the relief-works, too, and imposes an unnecessary burthen on the State resources. Can it be denied that the action of the Government has weakened the springs of carefulness and foresight by eliminating the strongest existing motive to economy.

But is the State, then, it may be asked, to leave the people to starve? Is it to fold its hands and do nothing? The answer must be an emphatic negative. There is plenty to be done, but this is not the way to do it. To improve communication, to promote irrigation, to encourage private trade, and above all to spread far and wide really sound and practical, not merely vocabular education—is not this a sufficiently ample field for the energies of the most ardent and insatiable reformer? And if there be any truth in what has been said above, these modes of activity have one not inconsiderable advantage over that which we have ventured to deprecate, and it is this, that they are in harmony with natural law, that they do follow the lines of the constitution of things instead of transecting them at right angles. They possess, while the other lacks, the cardinal quality by the presence or absence of which any scheme of social reform may be approved or condemned—they do not help the depressed and ignorant, but they enable them to help themselves.

And yet all these, important as they are, are not the most important. There is one condition still more essential than any of these to the growth of industry and foresight, a condition which it is far too much the fashion among us to assume has been already attained. And that condition is simply this, that to each man be secured with the utmost attainable certainty the fruits of his own labour. In no agricultural community where the land is tilled mainly by small cultivators, can this be attained without fixity of tenure. This is, indeed, a service which it is beyond dispute in the power of the Indian Government to perform. But it has not been performed while, as in Oudh, hundreds of thousands of cultivators are always liable to ejection for no better cause than the *sic volo sic jubeo* of their talukdar. Whether or no the power is very frequently exerted, may, perhaps, be a disputed question; but the power is always there. The Oudh peasant who has no recorded rights, has no twelve years' rule to fall back upon. His tenure depends altogether upon the will of the proprietor of the soil which he happens to cultivate, and if it is the profit or the caprice of that proprietor to eject him, ejected he must be. It does not need much reflection to perceive the reality of the hindrance which this obstacle must oppose to habits of continuous industry and exertion. The natural hindrances in a country great part of whose harvests are dependent upon an uncertain rainfall, are sufficiently serious to relieve us from all necessity of creating artificial ones. Would it not be well to devote more attention to the duty which lies nearest to our hands—a duty which it is beyond question incumbent upon every State to discharge—rather than expend our energies in the attempt to secure an over-crowded population against famine by the doubtful, not to say desperate, expedients of increasing their numbers and diminishing their self-reliance? The necessity—real or apparent—for abnormal efforts such as these is nearly always the result of a long course of previous neglect of the commonplace, every day duties, steady performance of which would have rendered the application of more heroic remedies superfluous. In proportion as life conforms more nearly to rational principles does the sphere of casual acts of benevolence or good nature contract. *Si nous voulions être toujours sages, rarement aurions nous besoin d'être vertueux.*

One more probable objection which may be noticed is the obvious one that a condemnation of State relief to the needy includes a condemnation of private benevolence; that if it is wrong for Government to spend taxes raised mainly from the poor in feeding the poor, it is likewise wrong for A, B or C to give a hungry man a meal. Here, again, the answer must simply be that the conclusion does not follow. Private benevolence is free from the three

cardinal defects which vitiate State bounty. For, firstly, the charitable individual spends that which is his own, and not that which he has received in trust for others. Secondly, his action is an exercise of sympathy, the faculty which, as has been well remarked, is the most essential of all to social growth; while State bounty, on the other hand, directly tends to deaden sympathetic feeling by apparently rendering it superfluous. Thirdly, the certainty of obtaining private charity can never be sufficiently great to paralyse the springs of exertion and foresight.

To resume as briefly as possible the substance of what has been said:—The ideal State would be that in which Government was unknown, because unneeded; and the presumption is always in favour of *laissez-faire*. The extent to which *laissez-faire* is practicable, depends mainly on two things—the strength of the spontaneously progressive element among the people, and the degree of homogeneity which prevails between the people and their Government. Hence it follows that India, in which the tendency to spontaneous progress is very weak, and in which the civilisation of the Government is very far in advance of that of the people, presents in a higher degree, perhaps, than any other country, the conditions which alone can justify departure from the principle of non-interference. But this departure from the general law, being in itself an evil, is only defensible so far as its tendency may be to render such departure ultimately unnecessary, *i.e.*, so far as it tends to promote energy and intelligence. If there be any truth in this, all attempts to mitigate the working of those economic laws which are beyond the permanent control of human efforts, must be emphatically condemned. To quote once more from Mr. Herbert Spencer:—

“To become fit for the social state, man has not only to lose his savageness, but he has to acquire the capacities needful for civilized life. Power of application must be developed; such modification of the intellect as shall qualify it for its new tasks must take place; and, above all, there must be gained the ability to sacrifice a small immediate gratification for a future great one. The state of transition will, of course, be an unhappy state . . . Humanity is being pressed against the inexorable necessities of its new position—is being moulded into harmony with them, and has to bear the resulting unhappiness as best it can. The process *must* be undergone, and the sufferings *must* be endured. No power on earth, no cunningly-devised laws of statesmen, no world rectifying schemes of the humane, no communist panaceas, no reforms that men ever did broach or ever will broach, can diminish them one jot. Intensified they may be, and are; and in preventing their intensification, the philanthropic will find ample scope for exertion. But there is bound up with the change a *normal*

amount of suffering, which cannot be lessened without altering the very laws of life . . . All that a poor law, or any kindred institution can do, is to partially suspend the transition—to take off for a while, from certain members of society, the painful pressure which is effecting their transformation. At best this is merely to postpone what must ultimately be borne. But it is more than this ; it is to undo what has already been done. For the circumstances to which adaptation is taking place cannot be superseded without causing a retrogression—a partial loss of the adaptation previously effected ; and as the whole process must some time or other be passed through, the lost ground must be gone over again, and the attendant pain borne afresh.”

Much more might be said, and many other objections, though not, the writer believes, unanswerable ones, might be raised. But he hopes that what has been already advanced may suffice to draw attention to what seems to him a tremendous mistake. Dissent from all but universal opinion, always sufficiently painful, is especially so when that opinion contains much with which it is impossible not to sympathise. “Callous,” “hard-hearted,” and “*doctrinaire*” are, probably, the mildest epithets which will be applied to the main doctrine which it has been attempted to set forth in this paper—the doctrine, *viz.*, that no Government on earth, least of all the Government of an over-crowded country like India, can undertake, without the most ruinous consequences, to feed a population over the increase of which it has no control whatever. That this doctrine, however, rests on laws of matter which are permanently, and on laws of mind which are temporarily at least, unmodifiable, the writer firmly believes. That these laws embody perfect justice and mercy, he is not called upon to maintain. But of the wisdom of obeying them, if they be, indeed, laws of nature, and ultimately or for the present uncontrollable by human efforts, there can be no dispute. The working of Nature often seems irreconcilable with our notions of moral fitness ; and a special pleader of pessimist tendencies, like Schopenhauer, can doubtless make out a plausible case for the hypothesis that the Universe is a scheme for the equal distribution of misery, tempered only by the ingenuity of the victims. But sooner or later, her commands have to be followed. She does not require us to praise her, though she may deserve our praise, or to attribute to her any unreal ethical perfection. What she does demand is obedience, and that quickly. The conditions of life are sometimes so complex and involved that there may seem to be no simple, no really moral road out of them at all—only a certain compromise which shall surpass in morality the compromise next beneath it. Whether this be indeed so or not has been a vexed question for all time, to which every age, and in his

own small way, every man, must find an answer. The nature of that answer must always, in the main, depend on temperament, and even on transient moods. The same mind which under one set of impressions, might ask with Owen Meredith's Clytemnestra,

"What need
Of argument to justify an act
Necessity compels and must absolve?
For that which must be, being what it must,
Is neither well nor ill; nor is there good,
Or evil in unmindful circumstance"

might, under other, and let us hope, truer impulses, enter into the spirit of Marcus Aurelius when he wrote:—

"But if this is so, be assured that if it ought to have been otherwise, the gods would have done it. For if it were just it would also be possible; and if it were according to nature, nature would have had it so. But because it is not so, if, in fact, it is not so, be thou convinced that it ought not to have been so."

H. C. IRWIN.

ART. II.—THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, LONDON, 1874.

CONGRESSES are the fashion of the day. Birds of every feather flock together, and though apt to peck at each other at a distance, it must be admitted that personal meetings bring with them a smoothing down of asperities, and a softening of animosities. Among the Congresses of the year has been that of the Oriental savans of the world : it was the second of the series, as the first was held at Paris in 1873, and the Congress for the year 1875 will be held at St. Petersburg. The meeting at London, as regards both its immediate and its ulterior object, was most successful, and though its proceedings were fully chronicled in the ephemeral journal, and an official report will, in due course, appear, still it seems advisable that some notice of an event of no ordinary importance should be made in a periodical such as the *Calcutta Review*, for the convenience of future reference, and as affording opportunity to take stock, as it were, of the accumulated wealth of Oriental Research, and to mark the high tide level of eastern knowledge.

The attendance at London was more numerous than can, probably, be anticipated at any future Congress, for London is easy of access, cosmopolitan in habit, and has outgrown all those national prejudices and hatreds which now sadly alienate the great Teutonic and Gallic races from each other. Moreover, there is in England, what exists nowhere else, an intelligent public, capable of appreciating the labours of Oriental students, without being engaged either in authorship, or in professional duties. In Paris and Germany, learned Society consists of professors and authors only, who speak and write for each other, and as the orbit of each is limited, a deferential and respectful silence is maintained by the Sanskritist to the Sinologist, and by both to the Assyriologist. In England it is otherwise : there is a limited—yet an appreciable—number of men, who enter into the labours of their more laborious brethren. Some, indeed, strive to maintain a certain amount of intelligent knowledge all down the line : others confine themselves to special subjects : thus it came to pass, that the benches of the Congress were crowded with men quite capable of appreciating a discovery, or detecting a palpable fallacy disguised under a plausible theory. Men whom the authors of books, or the writers in the journals of the learned Societies, had never heard of, were nevertheless quite abreast with the subject, ready to applaud, condemn, doubt, or reserve for consideration each of the statements brought under notice.

It must be briefly noted, that the week, during which the Congress was sitting, began on the 14th and ended on the 20th of September: inconvenient it may have been for tourists and sportsmen, still it was the only one, during which the attendance of the foreign professors could be secured. The meetings were held in the theatre of the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, that of King's College, Strand, and the rooms of the Society of Biblical Archæology in Conduit Street. Interspersed betwixt the meetings were visits to museums and libraries, and social gatherings; and the central office of general reference was located in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society. Considering that the one sentiment more bitter than *odium theologicum* is that of *odium literarium*, and that every author of a book on Oriental subjects deems it part of his duty in the preface to insult and stultify any preceding writer on the same subject, and is incapable of seeing that on many matters we are all still groping in the dark; considering that arrivals were uncertain to the last moment, and that there was a lamentable want of organizing power in the council of direction: still happily we repeat, that the Congress was a great success, that men saw each other in the flesh for the first time, who had known each other in print for a quarter of a century: that hands were joined in amity, which had wielded broad-swords: that ideas were interchanged, and publicity given to discoveries—that correspondences were commenced which may last many a year, refreshed, no doubt, by annual meetings at future Congresses—and that all parted with a sense of pleasure and satisfaction, having left their photographs in London.

Before we detail further the proceedings, we must consider the great kingdoms, into which the world of Oriental knowledge is now divided, and the great nationalities which have supplied scholars to go in and possess these kingdoms. If we use hard and new phrases, it is not from motives of pedantry, but in order to take a large view of this great subject. The grand division may be thus defined.

Egyptologists.

Semites.

Assyriologists.

Sanskritists.

Sinologists.

Turanians.

All these are linguists proper, but in connection with them is a great army of numismatists, palæographers, archæologists, ethnologists, epigraphists, and lastly the shrewd and skilful diviner or guesser, who, without any deep critical knowledge, has the divine gift of catching at the meaning of mutilated inscriptions or defaced coins by a species of inspiration. It will be perceived that from the domain of an Orientalist Congress, Europe and America are rigidly excluded, and the whole of Asia and North Africa as far as the pillars of Hercules are included.

At the Congress there were six sections, and we transfer to our pages the official prospectus :—

1. Aryan Section—President, Professor Max Müller.
 2. Semitic Section—President, Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B.
 3. Turanian Section—President, Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.
 4. Hamitic Section—President, Dr. Birch, LL.D.
 5. Archæological Section—President, M. E. Grant Duff, Esq., M.P.
 6. Ethnological Section—President, Professor R. Owen, C.B.
- Dr. Birch will act as President of the Congress.

The countries which furnished representatives were Great Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Sweden, Russia, and India. No delegates came from the United States or the Iberian Peninsula, and Italy was also found wanting; nor do we find the names of any Dutch, or Belgian, or Danish scholars. Turkey and Greece were silent, but Egypt was ably represented by a most accomplished scholar. It was understood that the German Governments so thoroughly entered into the advantage of such meetings, that they provided their representatives with the means of attending.

We may be able in some future number to give information with regard to living Oriental scholars, as it is interesting to know something about the men, who, scattered all over Europe, have their thoughts and eyes fixed on the East, though some of them have rarely left their native province: for the present we can only read the names of the most distinguished who arrived from each country.

Great Britain sent the following :—Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Birch, Mr. Fox Talbot, Rev. J. H. Sayce, Dr. Cull, Mr. Edward Thomas, Mr. Fergusson, Dr. Muir, Dr. Caldwell, Mr. Vaux, M. LePage Renouf, Sir Walter Elliot, Professor Wright, Professor Cowell.

France sent a very scanty number: and many of the great scholars at Paris were, perhaps, more thought of on account of their absence, than they would have been, if they had been present. The idea of these Congresses had originated at Paris, which is, indeed, the metropolis of Oriental learning; and M. Leon de Rosny, the President of the first Congress, took an active part in the second, and with him were M. Emile Burnouf, Professor Jules Oppert, Baron Texter de Ravisi.

Germany sent some of her best men :—Professors Brockhaus, Dillmann, Gosche, Haug (late of Bombay), Krehl, Lepsius, Merse, Noldeke, Pertsch, Roth, Schrader, Spiegel, Stengler, Trumpp, Weber, Ebers, Windisch, and Weil.

The Italian Government had deputed their most distinguished scholar, Professor Ascoli of Milan, to attend the Congress; but he was prevented by some reasons not stated. He sent the best wishes of the savans of his country, and expressed their readiness,

and that of their Government, to welcome the Congress, if the choice for the next session should fall upon Italy.

The Indian Government expressed their readiness to facilitate the attendance of some of the most distinguished native scholars of India; but there are, as is well-known, great difficulties in the way of the class, who naturally supply the soundest scholars in that country. One native member of the Civil Service did attend; but here, again, the presence of some was wished for in vain. The representative of India was named Shunkur Pandurang Pandit, who, by his proficiency and works, was in every way entitled to take his place among Oriental scholars.

It must be mentioned that there were two sets of delegates. One comprised the representatives of the Congress in each country, who had assisted in the organisation and correspondence, these were called the foreign delegates: the other set comprised those who were sent at the charge of foreign Governments to represent their country at the Congress. Professor Lepsius was both a foreign delegate and also personally delegated by the Imperial German Government.

The Congress assembled on the day appointed, Monday, September 14th, and it at once appeared how successful it was both in the quantity and quality of the attendance. We shall now proceed to notice what happened on each day, quoting freely from the inaugural addresses and the papers read, and discussions held as far as the latter have been recorded.

On the evening of Monday the Theatre of the Royal Institution, in Albemarle Street, was crowded to listen to the inaugural address of the President, Dr. Samuel Birch, Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum, who was so far qualified that, though his personal predilections were decidedly to the Hamitic Section, yet by the necessity of his office, he had a certain knowledge of, and interest in, the whole subject; while the failing of most Oriental scholars is to devote themselves to one particular branch, and actually ignore all the rest. This may, perhaps, be a necessity of their calling; for it may truly be said *ars longa vita brevis*. Eminence in any branch of the subject can only be obtained by long and exclusive devotion. It was not so fifty years ago.

After a few introductory remarks the President made the following piquant observations, which we quote in full:—

“The advance of civilisation, &c., is marked by the increased attention paid to the pursuit in which we are engaged. The spread of knowledge has not only rendered that popular which was at one time reserved for a narrow circle, but has elevated these studies in public estimation. In this country the bond which holds us to our Asiatic Empire, the links that connect our commerce with all the nations of the East, have rendered the intimate acquaintance with the languages, thoughts, history and monuments of these nations

not a luxury, but a necessity. Probably, persons could be found in so large a city, if required, who could speak any dialect under the sun or read any writing upon the planet. To whatever branch of Oriental learning any of those who have honoured the Congress with their presence to-day is attached, he will be sure to find some congenial mind to take a warm interest in his pursuits, interchange thoughts with him, or aid in the solution of his difficulties: nay, the pursuit of these studies is a kind of touch of nature—it makes us all akin, just as in the study itself everything that is individual disappears from the mind, except the pursuit itself. Orientalists, too, are all, so to say, men born of the same family, and, like a family, mutually interested in the success of their respective studies. Before that, as students, all the distinctions of race, creed, and nationality disappear or are forgotten. Even criticism ought neither to be nor become personal, inasmuch as science places for its object the highest scope of the mind truth which is in most cases difficult to find, and no reproach to miss. The nineteenth century has seen the revival of Oriental learning; and the great discoveries made throughout the East, in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and Persia, have thrown an entirely new light on the ancient monarchies, religions, and languages of the Eastern world as it existed 40 centuries ago. This has been due to several causes, chiefly to the improved facilities of access, by which travellers and others have visited these countries and their monuments, and have excavated their remains; and partly to the advance made in Europe itself, which has enabled the monuments discovered to be more accurately copied. The extensive excavations made throughout the East, and the continuous explorations of modern travellers, have left no accessible monument uncopied; and the quantity of the material now placed at the disposal of the student is consequently immense. With the increased number of texts of the old East, has come the more accurate knowledge, based on the power of comparison now given to the student. These materials were unknown to inquirers of the previous century. Empires have been exhumed, and for the first time a contemporary history of recorded events has been found.

It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the value of the inscriptions on rocks and stones and pottery, which are now brought under the notice of scholars from all quarters; and one of the subjects, which the President suggested to the Congress, was to recommend, and bring that recommendation to the notice of the different Governments “that facilities should be accorded in the “East to excavations undertaken purely from a scientific point “of view; for these branches of excavations, which follow up the “hints afforded by monumental information, require continually “the discovery of fresh materials to stimulate the student, and “without them the study languishes.” The subject is far too large to notice further: we may hope to treat of it separately at some future time. Egypt alone has had the good fortune among the elder nations of preserving ancient records on fragile materials such as papyrus. The Assyrian, Phœnicians, Cypriote, Punic, Himyaritic, Moabite, Berber, inscriptions are uniformly on stone; and those, too, found in a fragmentary and injured state.

The President then proceeded to throw out some important suggestions on the subject of an accepted system of Transliteration, a Universal Alphabet, and, still more striking novelty, of

writing by cyphers, called Pasigraphy. To give publicity to these advanced views on a most important subject, and to obviate the possibility of errors on our part in reporting his meaning, we transcribe Dr. Birch's actual words—and they open out a very large, and to some an entirely new subject of consideration, which the next generation will dispose of in a very summary manner. It may be added that pasigraphical dictionaries, in the English, German, and French languages were distributed to members of the Congress, who could thus communicate with each other without any knowledge of the language spoken by either party.

I turn to another point for attention, and that is the transliteration of Oriental texts into European characters. Great progress in this direction has been made of late years, and many schemes have been proposed. In some instances, the learned societies and scientific journals have insisted on the adoption of particular systems for papers admitted into their pages. There are many members present of all the Oriental societies and academies of Europe, and it will be for them to consider if some mutual agreement can be arrived at on this subject, and, for most Oriental languages, a decision favourable to one universal transliteration would be of the highest importance, as it would in many instances supersede the necessity of printing in various characters and different Oriental types, an expensive and difficult process. It would not, indeed, effect this for languages written with syllabic characters, but for those only which have an alphabetic one; and the same mode of transliteration would be an invaluable aid to the simplification and rendering of words in these languages, and making them universally intelligible. This subject will be, no doubt, submitted to the consideration of one of the sections of the Congress. It is, indeed, one of the subjects which it should be the especial object of the Congress to regulate, or at all events to initiate. That some such necessity exists and is felt is proved by the constant changes made by individuals in their transliteration of the vowels of Oriental tongues, whether living or extinct; the older systems already adopted not answering to their special notions of the manner in which these languages should be transliterated. Should the Congress be able to pronounce any opinion on this difficult subject, that opinion would, no doubt, carry with it great weight, even should it not finally decide the question, and lead to a further consideration of this pressing want of philological unity. It is not, perhaps, necessary for the Congress to consider how far it would be desirable to discuss the question of an universal alphabet—such a one as would supersede for Orientals themselves the necessity of writing in their own different characters the different languages distributed over the East. Could such be devised, it would be a great advantage for the acquisition of those languages by the West, months and perhaps years being now spent in mastering alphabets and syllabaries of complete kinds. Among the Polynesian islanders the European script has been successfully introduced and adopted, because they never had, till the appearance of European civilisation among them, a mode of writing; and there was consequently no national *amour-propre* to contend with, nor any script already in use to supersede. It is not so in the East, attached, from various causes, to their respective characters. But it is evident that, clothed in a European alphabet, there would be no greater difficulty in mastering many of the Aryan and Semitic languages by the Western scholars than in acquiring the different languages spoken in Europe—a task much facilitated by their having one common mode of printing and writing the same sounds. It may be considered the first step to writing,

among the European nations, this adoption of a common alphabet, when entirely carried out; and nothing would more powerfully connect the East and the West than the removal of these barriers which prevent an easy acquisition of those keys of thought necessary for the mutual understanding and happiness of mankind. It is a natural transition to pass from this subject to the consideration of the attempts making to introduce universal communication by means of Pasigraphy, or writing by ciphers. This system has been for some time in use in the West, and different ways have been proposed to arrive at the result. One is the mode of communicating by signals, consisting of numbers, at sea. Certain sentences of general use are numbered and translated into the different European languages. The flag which carries the number speaks the same sentence, when hoisted, to vessels of all other nationalities; in fact, the number is an universal medium of maritime communication. A flag with a few numbers asks a question; another with fewer or more gives the answer. Now, this device contains the elements of an universal language, limited, indeed, to a few stereotyped sentences such as are generally wanted in maritime intercourse. A modification of this system has been adopted for the purposes of commerce, for the Transatlantic and other telegraphs, to supersede the necessity of long and continuous messages, which would take too much time and trouble in transmission. But the works compiled for this purpose are in the English language only. A modification of this principle will be laid before the Ethnographical Section, consisting principally in the substitution of numbers for words, the same number answering to the same equivalent word in all languages. It is evident that when dictionaries on this principle shall have been compiled it will be possible for a limited communication to be held in writing with Orientals, of whose language the European is ignorant, in the same manner as by maritime signals. It is a step towards universal language; and, although a feeble one, probably the only step which will ever be made. Its value and defects will, no doubt, occupy the attention of the Ethnographical Section. It is not a language properly so-called, but a means of interchange of thought, and might prove of the greatest value where other means were not at hand. These divided by sounds will be united by numbers.

The President then entered more particularly into the organisation of the sections of the present Congress, remarking that the President of each section would make his inaugural address. Touching lightly, therefore, on the subjects of each section, in the presence of the assembled wisdom of the Oriental world, he made the following emphatic declaration in favour of the reality and truth of cuneiform studies and discoveries, and, if no other advantage were to be derived from such Congresses, there would, at least, be this one, that the mouths of all scoffers and doubters, on this subject are henceforth and for ever stopped. The path of the cuneiform student is no longer obstructed: year by year he will advance further into clearer day, opening out consequences to the study of Comparative Mythology, generally, and Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages, the importance of which cannot as yet be appreciated.

"Since the evolution of the name of Darius, the study has advanced in an unprecedented manner, no fewer than five languages—*viz.*, Persian, Median, Babylonian, and two sorts of Assyrian—having been deciphered and inter-

preted, and the history of these Oriental Empires having been examined from their original documents and contemporary sources, thus relieving us from the necessity of relying upon secondary information afforded by Greek and other authors. The discovery of the Persian by Grotefend, subsequently perfected by the labours of Lassen, Burnouf, and Rawlinson, was succeeded by that of the Babylonians and Assyrians by Hincks and Rawlinson; and it is precisely these last two languages which have produced a golden harvest of results, when completed by the labours of Professor Oppert, Mr. G. Smith, and Mr. Fox Talbot. A light entirely new has been thrown on the mythology and history of these old Semitic nations. The fact of another language called the Accadian or Sumerian, extinct like the Assyrian, but not easily referable to a particular stem, although supposed to be of the Turanian stock, is an unexpected addition to the knowledge of the languages of Western Asia. It is not to be supposed that discoveries so startling have been received without incredulity or opposition. The nature of these languages, written in a complex syllabary which only finds its parallel in the abnormal script of Japan and the difficulties which first attached to the decipherment of the names of gods and kings caused the first attempts to be coldly received by scholars especially devoted to Semitic studies. These doubts have, however, since given way to convictions, and the truth of Assyrian researches has been finally recognized. The study of these ancient languages, which may be classed as extinct in contradistinction to those which, though no longer spoken, have yet had their knowledge preserved by tradition, and which are called the dead, is strictly inductive. The examination of the logical deductions to be made from the position of a word in different passages is found to be as important, if not more so, in determining their meaning as their comparison with words in existing or dead languages supposed to be cognate. The consideration of some of these points will occupy the attention of the Semitic section, as well as the nature of the grammar and structure of the Sumerian, the Elamite, and the Median.

The same observation also applies to the researches into Comparative Mythology and the evolution of ancient religions; for it is only by the consideration of the Semitic myths that a true appreciation can be made of the extent to which Western Europe was influenced by the traditionary legends of Babylonia and Assyria.

The historical inquiries have resulted in a still greater conflict of opinion, and M. Oppert will bring these divergences before the section; for it cannot be concealed that the chronology of the Jews and the Assyrians, as they at present stand, does not harmonise—there is a want of synchronism. It is not possible to decide at present where the error lies, but nothing but an act of violence, such as the alteration of text, or the forced hypothesis of an omission of years in the Assyrian canons can at present reduce them to a common level. The difficulty has many bearings, and affects history generally; and could these differences be reconciled, that alone would entitle this Congress to be regarded as marking an epoch in the annals of ancient historical investigation.

After cursorily remarking that the Sanskrit was not a *monumental* language, as no monuments inscribed in Sanskrit, or its nearest Indian dialects, are older than the fourth century B.C., and that no Aryan alphabet is as yet known, which can be considered older than the seventh century B.C., a period which the Egyptologists and Assyriologists deem comparatively *recent*, the President treads on firmer ground when he arrives at his own peculiar sphere, the Hamitic section. Here, again, it is a satisfaction to quote his very

words, announcing as a fact beyond all contest that the ancient language of Egypt is in every sense the property of the present generation.

It is not necessary here to enter into a detailed exposition of the mode of decipherment and interpretation of the hieroglyphs which was aided by the trilingual inscription of Rosetta, and did not require so great an effort of the mind to discover as the cuneiform. The only difficulty was to divest the mind of the idea that figures and representations of objects were not used as pictures, but as phonetic ciphers. That point reached, the difficulties rapidly disappeared, and the inductive method pursued with a mathematical rigour by the first inquirers and by later students has evolved alike from the grammar and the dictionary the relation of the Ancient Egyptian to the Coptic. So great has been the progress made that the purport of all texts and the entire translation of most is no longer an object of insurmountable difficulty.

And then follow the piquant remarks, spoken, we must remember, in the presence of the assembled Egyptologists of the world, in which beyond those distant centuries, to which we have now got access, a more distant vista of centuries is hinted at, during which the gradual development of this wonderful alphabet must have been slowly worked out. As in language itself, so in the vehicle for representing sound by marks, when we have pushed our inquiries as far back as possible, when we *have dropped our longest line, there is still no bottom*. Admitting the extreme antiquity of any Sanskrit, Hebrew, or Egyptian word, how many previous centuries did it take to wear that word down to its present shape and meaning?

It is one of the marvels of Egypt and its early civilisation that it starts already full grown into life in the valley of the Nile as a nation highly advanced in language, painting, and sculpture, and offers the enigma as to whence it attained so high a point of development. There is no monumental nation which can compete with it for antiquity, except, perhaps, Babylonia, and evidence is yet required to determine which of the two empires is the older. As far as an opinion can be formed from archæological considerations, there is a great weight of evidence in favour of gradual development in Babylonia. Some of the linguistic tablets in terracotta found in that country have recorded the transactions in that region in characters gradually developing from the pure pictorial into the conventional cuneiform, but no Egyptian inscriptions as yet discovered, are written exclusively, or even mainly, in hieroglyphs used as pictures only in contradistinction to sounds. All, even those of the most remote antiquity, are full of phonetic hieroglyphs. The arts of Egypt exercised an all-powerful influence on the ancient world—the Phœnicians copied their types, and Greece adopted the early Oriental style of architecture, for the Doric style came from Egypt, the Ionic from Assyria, the later Corinthian came from Egypt. If Phœnicia conferred an alphabet on Greece, Egypt suggested the use of such characters to Phœnicia. Already, in the seventh century before Christ, the hieroglyphs represented a dead form of the Egyptian language, one which had ceased to be spoken, and Egyptian traders used a conventional mode of writing simpler than the older forms, and better adapted for the purposes of vernacular idiom.

The President remarked with justice that the labours of the philologist must be supplemented by the archæologist and ethnologist to secure completeness and prevent errors; and he alluded to a subject, which has, indeed, obtained a painful prominence, the wholesale forgery of antiquities for the purpose of dishonest gain, which has thrown suspicion and engendered animosity everywhere.

M. Leon de Rosny, the President of the First Congress at Paris, made some suitable remarks in French, especially this one, that these assemblies constitute a new era in the history of science; that they give a well-deserved publicity to labours otherwise not fully appreciated, and attract the sympathies of the outside world of all nationalities. With a few observations from Shunkur Pandurang Pandit, the Indian representative, the proceedings of the first day closed.

On Tuesday morning, the members of the Congress met in an informal manner in the British Museum; and, separating themselves in groups in that enormous building, were conducted by, and had the advantage of the company of Dr. Birch, the Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities, Mr. Newton of the Classical Department, Mr. P. LePage Renouf, the accomplished Egyptologist, and other of the high officials of the institution. At half-past two, the Congress attempted to assemble in the rooms of the Royal Society of Literature, St. Martin's Lane, which were calculated to hold about one-fourth of the number. Sir Henry Rawlinson, President of the Semitic section, commenced his inaugural address; but interrupted by the clamour of members crushed on the stairs, or left out in the cold of the street, was compelled to adjourn the meeting to the Theatre of the Royal Institution. When the Congress assembled there, he had to commence again, and this caused a sad loss of time, and entirely prevented any papers being read, or any discussion taking place. The eyes of the Congress were now painfully opened to the weak side of the arrangements of the Managing Committee. Were so many savants assembled in one focus merely to hear a lecture by one member however distinguished in a language unintelligible to at least half of the hearers, what will be the feeling of the English members of the Congress next year at St. Petersburg, if the proceedings are limited to long lectures in the Russian language?

The President of the section, Sir Henry Rawlinson, was worthy of the place, and his address was worthy of the man, not too long, and to the point. He showed that the chief interest on the part of the general public in the Semitic family of languages was connected with the Bible, and that that side of the subject had been unduly strained, as Hebrew was only one, and *not the*

most important and not the most ancient member of the family : he showed further, that the materials were not yet available "for sound generalisation in regard to the origin, development, "and scientific classification of the Semitic languages," in the same masterly manner in which the Aryan languages had been handled during the last half century. Modestly, yet confidently, and with the air of a man who had fought a good fight, won a great victory, and left his mark on his age, he made the following remarks worthy to be quoted *in extenso* :—

All that I propose to do in opening this section is to draw attention to the very enlarged proportions that have lately been given to Semitic research. Not only have our Phœnician materials been more than doubled since Gesenius wrote his famous text-book on the relics of that language, but Southern Arabia has yielded a mass of inscriptions from copper-plates and sculptured rocks which have brought the old Himyaritic language fairly within our grasp ; and more recently Assyria has been added to the list, sustained inquiry having opened up to the investigation of scholars that ancient language, which, as far as our present knowledge extends, would seem to be one of the earliest members of the widespread Semitic family. Educated Europe was very slow to admit the genuineness of cuneiform decipherment. It was asserted at first as a well-known axiom, that it was impossible to recover lost alphabets and extinct languages without the aid of a bilingual key, such as was afforded to Egyptologists by the famous stone of Rosetta. Our efforts at interpretation were therefore pronounced to be empirical, and scholars were warned against accepting our results. I have a vivid recollection, indeed, of the scornful incredulity with which I was generally received when, in 1849, I first brought to England a copy of the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription, and endeavoured to show that by comparing this version with the corresponding Persian text I had arrived at a partial understanding of the newly discovered records of Assyria and Babylonia. I did not assume to have done more than break the crust of the difficulty, and yet I obtained no attention. Hardly anyone in England, except Dr. Hincke and Mr. Norris and the Chevalier Bunsen, was satisfied of the soundness of the basis of inquiry. Nor, indeed, did the study make much progress for a long time afterwards. Semitic scholars like M. Renan, accustomed to the rigid forms and limited scope of alphabets of the Phœnician type, were bewildered at the laxity of cuneiform expression, where phonetic and ideographic elements were commingled ; and refused to admit the possibility of such a system of writing being applied to a Semitic language. Biblical students, again, were not favourable at first to the idea of testing the authenticity of the Hebrew annals by comparing them with the contemporary annals of a cognate people, and for a time ignored our results, while the Classicists of this country who followed the lead of the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis calmly asserted the superiority and sufficiency of Greek tradition, and treated our endeavours to set up a rival school of historical criticism, derived from a barbarian source, almost with contempt.

Sir Henry then ran over the names of the distinguished Assyriologists of the different European nations, yielding the palm to the French in the persons of M.M. Jules Oppert, Menant, and Lenormant, and to the Germans in the persons of Dr. Prœtorius, and Professor Schrader. He implied that his

own knowledge, and that of his English fellow-labourers, had been surpassed by foreign scholars, who, taking "a practical rather than sensational view of the subject," had applied "a searching and elaborate critical power, combined with intense application, and a thorough mastery of the Semitic languages, rather than conjectural translations, or premature generalizations;" he further remarked "that the illustration of obscure points of ethnology and chronology were more attractive in their nature, than dry disquisitions on grammar and etymology, but that these dry studies ought to be a necessary preliminary to the others, whose very attractiveness is in inverse ratio to their philological value." This is a wise caution: the period for guess-work is past: and, as Sir Henry Rawlinson was the first to open twenty-five years ago the sealed casket, he is entitled to give his advice *ex-cathedra* to younger scholars, how those treasures can be most advantageously used, so as to weld together the newly discovered members of the Semitic family with their three younger sisters who have lived down to our time on the secure basis of manuscripts and traditions, the Hebrew, Syrian, and Arabic:

I do most earnestly recommend scholars to pay more attention in future to the rudiments of the study than to its higher branches. It would be desirable, I think, in all future publications, to accompany the translation of every sentence with its grammatical and etymological analysis, especial care being taken to compare the corresponding roots and inflections in the cognate languages, not at random or from a fancied resemblance of sound, but according to the established rules of euphony and grammatical change. As matters stand at present, we are far from having overcome the elementary difficulties of phonetic representation. Notwithstanding, indeed, the numerous alphabets and syllabaries that have been published, there are still many cuneiform characters of doubtful power, while the vernacular names of the gods, which enter so largely into the composition of Babylonian and Assyrian proper names, and are thus essential to historical identification, are for the most part rendered conventionally and provisionally. For my own part, I should hail the determinate reading of these names, a result which in default of direct evidence can only be obtained by a very large and laborious induction as a more substantial advance in Assyriology than the discovery of a new dynasty of Kings or the complete explanation of the whole series of astronomical tables. Let me, then, impress upon all young Semitic scholars who desire to take up the study of the cuneiform inscriptions to begin at the beginning, to learn thoroughly the alphabet and grammar of the Assyrian language before they attempt independent translation, and only gradually to ascend into those higher regions of inquiry which will be brought before the section by the experienced scholars around me.

M. Jules Oppert then occupied the Congress by a long discourse lasting nearly an hour, and in the French language, upon a most abstruse subject connected with Assyriology, a subject the purport of which scholars educated up to the mark might, in their private studies after reading and reflection, understand, or fancy that they understand, in part or entirely. His manner was excited: his pronunciation rapid even for a Frenchman; he covered a lecture

board with figures at a rate baffling all power of calculation ; and the mixed audience, more or less imperfectly acquainted with the subject and the language of the speaker, were thoroughly wearied. But a fresh surprise was in store for them, when Professor Schrader rose and addressed the Congress in German, thus limiting the intelligent audience still further, and he was understood to combat some, if not all, the assertions of his predecessor. The assembly felt, that they had fallen from the frying pan into the fire in thus exchanging German for French ; and, as no attempt was made by means of an interpreter to give the audience a brief abstract of the statements of either speaker in the English language, many, until the publication of the *Athenæum* and *Academy*, and a still larger number up to the present moment, remained absolutely ignorant as to what they had been listening to ; and the feeling was, that it would have been far better to have treated such papers "as read," the fate, indeed, to which Mr. Geldart's thoughtful paper was condemned. This, however, opened out the whole question of the utility of such Congresses, as it became clear that this afternoon there had been a triangular duel betwixt English, German, and French, in a manner that no one could approve but an Irvingite, and unmindful of the precepts of the Apostle Paul :—

"If any one speak in an unknown tongue, let one interpret : for, "if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that "speaketh as a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a "barbarian unto me."

We fear that, with the exception of a few gifted trilinguals, all were in turn barbarians on the second day of the Oriental Conference.

The precious hours of the day on Wednesday were totally wasted for all purposes of the Conference. The Mahomet of the day instead of coming to London, was pleased to summon the mountain to Wimbledon to partake of a crowded breakfast ; thence some drifted away to the Kew Gardens, and it was not till the late hour of 8-30 P.M. that the learned body was again assembled in another part of London, in the Theatre of King's College, Strand. There was no possible advantage to be obtained from this senseless shifting of the meeting-place of the Congress. The subject to be discussed also was confused and anomalous—the so-called "Turanian" languages : which are by some supposed to comprise all the languages of the world, other than Semitic and Aryan : by others the name is narrowed down to the agglutinative and monosyllabic languages : a third party attempt to give still narrower geographical limits to the term, which at best is a bad one. Sir Walter Elliot, late of the Madras Civil Service, and one of the most accomplished servants of the Indian Government was

in the chair ; and exercised the self-denying grace of not reading his inaugural address, but laying it on the table to be printed with the Proceedings. It is well worthy of being read, though it goes over ground more or less familiar to the student : one passage we quote, to show that the speculation of the author is equal in daring to that of any in this age of daring speculation.

"I think it probable, that the Turanian occupation of Australia took place at a time when that great country still formed an integral part of Asia ; and that, cut off by later geological changes, the inhabitants have thus not been subjected to foreign innovations. A critical examination of their numerous dialects with those of the barbarous hill races of Asia, the Ainos of Japan, the Kols, the Mericossic, and the nomadic tribes who still wander over India, may yield materials for tracing more completely the origin and ramifications of the Turanian race." *Credite Posteris !* Such words half a century hence may be quoted as prophetic wisdom, or set aside scornfully as mere folly.

Professor Hunfalvy, a Hungarian of Pesth, brought the Congress back from theory to hard facts. His address was delivered in a foreign language, and up to this time his remarks have not appeared at length in print : the following is the précis of his argument, and it may be added, that this special work is one, which Europe may fairly demand from the Hungarian nation, who alone in Europe represent without doubt the Turanian race and are advanced themselves into a high state of civilisation.

In this paper Professor Hunfalvy showed by numerous facts adduced from Hungarian, Wogul, Ostiak, and Finnish that the established notion of Turanianism seems to be not well founded, and that it leads students into many errors. The author endeavoured to show, consequently, that the same genealogical method of studying which has created the Aryan and Semitic linguistic sciences also must be applied to the Turanian languages, and that before such a perfect science can be formed every comparative study of them must be unavailing.

The Congress then listened to a paper in English, short, terse, and admirably delivered, by the Rev. Isaac Taylor on his theory of the connection of the Etruscan language with the Ugro-Altaic group, on the confines of Europe and Asia in the Russian dominions. He wished to show a connection of the extinct Etruscan, with the equally extinct Sumerian and Accadian, a language which has been disinterred by Assyriologists within the last ten years, and which is slowly but with certainty being worked out. The nature of the theory propounded by Mr. Taylor is thoroughly understood, but is sternly opposed by Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian scholars : the paper was received in silence, after a few remarks by Dr. Cull, the representative of the Semites, and Professor Hunfalvy of the Turanians, expressing their entire

dissent, especially as all that is known of Etruscan does not exceed half a hundred words, chiefly proper names.

The Reverend Joseph Edkins, one of the most advanced of the Chinese scholars, who ventures to go beyond the mere knowledge of the language into the great arena of comparative language in his work on the "Position of the Chinese among Languages," then interested such of the Congress as could understand English, and had an elementary knowledge of Chinese, with a paper on "the Chinese language at the time of the invention of writing." We quote an abstract of his argument, commending it to the consideration of our readers, as opening out new vistas of thought, with reference to the remarks quoted above as the subject of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Slowly and surely the great ideographic mystery is being solved, and the gradual development of the human mind is being traced in those independent channels, the Chinese, Egyptian, and Assyrian:—

The date of the written character of the Chinese is said by themselves to be 2300 B.C. There has been some difference of opinion as to whether this date should be accepted. The reader of the paper stated that, in order to leave sufficient time for the development of that language since the invention of writing, it is best to accept the native date, as not being too ancient. The celebrated Buddhist pilgrim Hsuen Tsang translated several Sanskrit works into Chinese 1200 years ago. His way of writing Sanskrit names with Chinese characters shows what sounds were attached to those characters at that period. A little before his days the Chinese learnt from Hindoo missionaries, for the first time, the way to spell words with the help of the alphabet. A second period of 1200 years takes us back to the time of the old Chinese poetry, recently translated by Dr. Legge. That poetry was in the simple vernacular of the time, and was arranged in short lines all carefully rhyming together. By this aid we learn what the language then was, and how the Chinese characters were then pronounced, their meaning, and which of them were occasionally changed one for another. Another similar period of 1200 years carries us back nearly to the traditional date of the invention of writing. Proceeding carefully with the information thus acquired on the characteristics of the language at the two epochs named, we may attack the characters themselves to learn whether they can tell us anything as to what that language was which they were invented to represent. After a thousand or more ideographs had been formed by drawing pictures in outline of natural objects, and suggestive groupings of strokes to represent the verbs, the Chinese attached the sounds of the objects or actions to the pictures, and then advanced another step. That step was to use about 1,000 select ideographs as signs of sound. For instance, *bak* was the word for the "white," *pak* for "a cypress" and for "the soul." Having a symbol for whiteness called *bak*, the Chinese made it the sign for a cypress and for the soul also, adding the sign for "wood" for the one, and that for "demon" for the other. By examining the mass of compound characters thus constructed, it is possible to restore the pronunciation as it was at the date of the invention. Every word has changed its sound in the *interim*. A large number of remarkable letter changes have grown up and run their course. By the application of the principle of phonetic writing just stated, the ancient language was, as it were, photographed, and the photograph can be deciphered by the philologist. The laws of intervening

change was estimated, and the language restored to its primitive state, as far as regards many of its essential features. A brief statement was then made as to the civilisation of the ancient Chinese, as mirrored in their old vocabulary. It shows that they had then a full supply of abstract terms and words suitable for political ideas and for moral conceptions. They had decimal arithmetic, names of weights and measures, gold, silver, iron, and other common metals, and a stock of words suitable for the weaver of silk and linen, the boatman, the agriculturist, the carpenter, and the mason. The reader stated it as his conviction that the intuitive origin of moral ideas is decidedly favoured by the Chinese etymology of words having a moral meaning, and that the Darwinian method of accounting for men's notions of morality will gain no support from the Chinese language. Examples were given and briefly discussed.

From the stand-point of our present knowledge we look back with some feeling of pity on the groping in the dark of Sir William Jones and Anquetil de Perron. In the year 1974 what will be thought of the remarks made in this Congress?

The last paper was also in English, and on a very technical subject, *viz.*, "the result of an examination of Chinese-Buddhist books in the library of the India Office." We remarked signs of dull dissatisfaction in the faces of many of the learned foreigners, who sat through these tedious hours, listening to unknown tongues, unrelieved by any bright passages of arms, or intellectual skirmishes. There was a general feeling that there was something wrong in the first principle on which the Congress was organised—and yet no blame could attach to the President of the section, who in a spirit of laudable self-negation held his peace, nor to those who addressed the Congress, for they spoke clearly and well on interesting subjects,—some one should have risen up and cast a ball of contest, which would have brought to their legs in quick succession the most distinguished of the scholars present, whose words should have been rapidly interpreted: that such a procedure can succeed, has been evidenced at other International Congresses.

The next day, Thursday, was thoroughly devoted to the proper work of the Congress. The inspection of the treasures of the Soane Museum, and of the India Office Library, occupied the morning. Weeks might be spent with profit in the latter, which, under the supervision of its present Librarian, Dr. Reinauld Röst, is assuming its proper position, as one of the three great reservoirs of Oriental learning in England—the other two being the British Museum and the Bodleian. After-ages, and scholars yet to be born, will learn to speak with gratitude of the labours of the catalogue-makers of the last twenty years. A great blunder was committed by the President of the Congress in inviting guests to a private re-union at the British Museum, at the very time when the President of the Aryan section was about to deliver his inaugural address; and a still

greater blunder was committed by Dr. Max Müller in occupying the Congress with a long address in English. He was one of the happy few, who could have struck off brief, but striking passages in English, and then electrified his audience by gracefully repeating them in French and reiterating them in his native language: it was an opportunity for a "tour de force" which a vain man would have sought for, and which would have been hailed as the master-stroke of the Congress; and English, French, and German, would have united in praising that "trilingual hero," who could captivate equally his hearers at Paris, at Strasburg, or in London. But he lost his opportunity: all that falls from his lips is valuable, though to those who have heard him often, there is an amount of sameness, or what is called with reference to great painters, "mannerism." We seem to know his stock illustrations, and could finish his half uttered sentences from our own knowledge of the man's mind.

He commenced, as if he were President of the Congress, not of the Section only, and proceeded to give his views of the *raison d'être* of such meetings. We quote his words, as expressing what we consider to be their real and only object.

"The first question which the world never fails to address to us, is *Dieu cur hic?* Why are you here?—or to put it into French. What is your *raison d'être*? We have had to submit to this examination even before we existed, and many a time have I been asked the question, both by friend and foe, What is the good of an International Congress of Orientalists? It seems to me that the real and permanent use of these scientific gatherings is twofold:—(1.) They enable us to take stock, to compare notes, to see where we are, and to find out where we ought to be going. (2.) They give us an opportunity, from time to time, to tell the world where we are, what we have been doing for the world, and what, in return, we expect the world to do for us. The danger of all scientific work at present, not only among Oriental scholars, but, as far as I can see, everywhere, is the tendency to extreme specialisation. Our age shows in that respect a decided reaction against the spirit of a former age, which those with grey heads among us can still remember, an age represented in Germany by such names as Humboldt, Ritter, Böckh, Johannes Müller, Bopp, Bunsen, and others; men who look to us like giants, carrying a weight of knowledge far too heavy for the shoulders of such mortals as now be; aye, men who were giants, but whose chief strength consisted in this, that they were never entirely absorbed or bewildered by special researches, but kept their eye steadily on the highest objects of all human knowledge; who could trace the vast outlines of the kosmos of nature or the kosmos of the mind with an unwavering hand, and to whose maps and guide-books we must still recur whenever we are in danger of losing our way in the mazes of minute research. At the present moment such works as Humboldt's *Kosmos*, or Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, or Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, would be impossible. No one would dare to write them, for fear of not knowing the exact depth at which the *Protogenes Haeckelii* has lately been discovered or the lengthening of a vowel in the *Sanhitapátha* of the *Rig-veda*. It is quite right that this should be so, at least for a time; but all rivers, all brooks, all rills, are meant to flow into the ocean, and all special knowledge, to keep it from stagnation, must have an outlet into the general knowledge of the world. Knowledge

for its own sake, as it is sometimes called, is the most dangerous idol that a student can worship. We despise the miser who amasses money for the sake of money, but still more contemptible is the intellectual miser who hoards up knowledge instead of spending it; though with regard to most of our knowledge, we may be well assured and satisfied that, as we brought nothing into the world, so we may carry nothing out. Against this danger, of mistaking the means for the end, of making bricks without making mortar, of working for ourselves instead of working for others, meetings such as our own, bringing together so large a number of the first Oriental scholars of Europe, seem to me a most excellent safeguard. Oriental literature is of such enormous dimensions that our small army of scholars can occupy certain prominent positions only; but those points like the stations of a trigonometrical survey, ought to be carefully chosen, so as to be able to work in harmony together. I hope that in that respect our Congress may prove of special benefit. We shall hear, each of us from others, what they wish us to do. "Why don't you finish this?" "Why don't you publish that?" are questions which we have already heard asked by many of our friends. We shall be able to avoid what happens so often, that two men collect materials for exactly the same work; and we may possibly hear of some combined effort to carry out great works, which can only be carried out *viribus unitis*, and of which I may at least mention one, a translation of the *Sacred Books of Mankind*. Important progress has already been made for setting on foot this great undertaking, an undertaking which I think the world has a right to demand from Oriental scholars, but which can only be carried out by joint action. This Congress has helped us to lay the foundation-stone, and I trust that at our next Congress we shall be able to produce some tangible results. I now come to the second point. A Congress enables us to tell the world what we have been doing. This, it seems to me, is particularly needful with regard to Oriental studies which, with the exception of Hebrew, stand still outside the pale of our schools and Universities, and are cultivated by the very smallest number of students. And yet I make bold to say that during the last hundred, and still more during the last 50 years, Oriental studies have contributed more than any other branch of scientific research to change, to purify, to clear, and intensify the intellectual atmosphere of Europe, and to widen our horizon in all that pertains to the science of man, in history, philology, and philosophy. We have not only conquered and annexed new worlds to the ancient empire of learning, but we have leavened the old world with ideas that are already fermenting even in the daily bread of our schools and Universities."

He goes on to show what a change in our thoughts has been produced by the discovery of the "comparative method," which was only possible when the revelation of the Oriental store of knowledge gave to the European student the power of "generalising," in language, mythology and religion. On the latter of these topics his words are pregnant, though startling, and foreshadow what may be expected from an historical treatment, on a basis as broad as that of the whole world, of this important subject.

All religions are Oriental, and with the exception of the Christian, their sacred books are all written in Oriental languages. The materials, therefore, for a comparative study of the religious systems of the world had all to be supplied by Oriental scholars. But far more important than those materials is the spirit in which they have been treated. The sacred books of the principal religions of mankind had to be placed side by side with perfect impartiality in order to discern the points which they shared in common as well

as those that are peculiar to each. The results already obtained by this simple juxtaposition are full of important lessons, and the fact that the truths on which all religions agree far exceed those on which they differ has hardly been sufficiently appreciated. I feel convinced, however, that the time will come when those who at present profess to be most disquieted by our studies will be the most grateful for our support ; for having shown by evidence, which cannot be controverted, that all religions spring from the same sacred soil, the human heart, that all are quickened by the same Divine spirit, the Still Small Voice ; and that, though the outward forms of religion may change, may wither and decay, yet, as long as man is what he is and what he has been, he will postulate again and again the Infinite as the very condition of the Finite, he will yearn for something which the world cannot give ; he will feel his weakness and dependence, and in that weakness and dependence discover the deepest sources of his hope, and trust, and strength.

Wandering still further from the section, over which he was presiding, the learned Professor turned his attention to the neglect which Oriental studies met with in England, and specially at the Universities which ought to be the metropolis of all knowledge, but which selfishly and sordidly, forgetful of their high mission, stifled the free study of Hebrew under a load of one-sided and sectarian Theology, and neglected all the languages of the world in favour of Latin and Greek. He pointed out, how much Foreign Missions would profit by facilities of acquiring foreign languages at the Universities, how much knowledge had to be caught alive while there was yet time, arrayed, and published, by men who possessed learned leisure, the very class for whom the emoluments of Fellowships were intended : the following remarks require serious considerations :—

Some years ago I ventured to address the Colonial Secretary of State on this subject, and a letter was sent out, in consequence, to all the English colonies, inviting information on the languages, monuments, customs, and traditions of the native races. Some most valuable reports have been sent home during the last five or six years ; but when it was suggested that these reports should be published in a permanent form, the expense that would have been required for printing every year a volume of colonial reports, which would not have amounted to more than a few hundred pounds for all the colonies of the British Empire, part of it to be recovered by the sale of the book, was considered too large. Now we should bear in mind that at the present moment some of the tribes living in or near the English colonies in Australia, Polynesia, Africa, and America, are actually dying out, their languages are disappearing, their customs, traditions, and religions will soon be completely swept away. To the student of language the dialect of a savage tribe is as valuable as Sanskrit or Hebrew, nay, for the solution of certain problems, more so. Every one of these languages is the growth of thousands and thousands of years, the workmanship of millions and millions of human beings. If they were now preserved they might hereafter fill the most critical gaps in the history of the human race. At Rome, at the time of the Scipios, hundreds of people might have written down a grammar and dictionary of the Etruscan language, of Oscan, or Umbrian ; but there were men then, as there are now, who shrugged their shoulders and said : What can be the use of preserving these barbarous, uncouth idioms ? What would we not give now for some such records ?

As by careful and complete collections of every article used by the tribes in the lowest state of civilisation at the present moment, the cautious palæontologist builds up his theories as to the habits of the whole human race in its infancy, so by a careful analysis of the feeble and unartificial means of vocal communication adopted by savages, the cautious philologist frames his theory as to the origin of all languages, and is enabled to arrive at the processes, by which the varying inflexions of words were introduced to represent the logical requirements of the human mind, and to guess at the origin of words themselves.

The Professor rendered due homage to the unceasing and discriminating liberality ever shown by the Government of India to Oriental study, and he draws attention to the three surveys now in progress in India :—the literary survey, for the collection and cataloguing of manuscripts : the archæological survey, and the ethnological survey ; and here his remarks are of such practical utility, that they must be quoted.

“We want not only photographs and graphic descriptions, but scholar-like grammars of the principal races of India. Lists of words, if carefully chosen, are no doubt most valuable for preliminary researches, but without grammars none of the great questions which are still pending in Indian ethnology will ever be satisfactorily and definitively settled. No real advance has been made in the classification of Indian languages for twenty years ; * * * * why do not the German Missionaries at Ranchi publish a grammatical analysis of that interesting cluster of dialects ?

“Without wishing to defend the names chosen for these classes, I must say, that I look on the constant introduction of new technical terms, as an unmixed evil : every classificatory term is imperfect, but if they are rightly defined, they can do no harm ; whereas a new name, however superior at first sight, always makes confusion more confounded. Chemists do not hesitate to call sugar an “acid,” rather than part with an old established term.”

The Professor then laid on the table the last sheet of the text of the Rig Veda, the oldest book of the Aryan world, a work commenced a quarter of a century before, and prosecuted continuously ; and he closed his long and learned oration (for in many places he was above the monotonous level of a lecturer) by assigning to the Vedas their proper position. The Rig Veda is valuable, and priceless, not because it is *not* like the Psalms, and *not* like Pindar, but because it stands alone by itself, and reveals to us the earliest germs of religious thoughts, such as they really were ; it is because it places before us a language more primitive than any we knew before ; it is because its

"poetry is savage and uncouth, showing us what man was, what we were before we had reached the level of David, of Homer, of Zoroaster, showing us the very cradle of our thoughts, our words, and deeds."

Professor Stengler of Breslau then read a paper in the German language on the Hindu Doctrine of Expiation: the German portion of the audience, including His Highness Prince Charles of Roumania, had their revenge on the English and French "monoglots" by understanding the words, if not the arguments of the learned Professor. The Syrian Patriarch, and his Suffragan, the Bishop of Jerusalem, who knew literally nothing but their own Arabic, got through this and the meetings of the other days with singular patience, and a look of polite semi-intelligence: no doubt the habitual attendance of a form of religious worship in a language totally unintelligible to themselves or their congregation, does help a person to play the otherwise awkward part of a lay-figure in the midst of an assembly of great intelligence, with dignity and self-respect, and they were able to maintain during discussions, which they could not comprehend, the same reverend, easy and polite appearance, which they presented the previous day at the public breakfast, of which they were unable to partake.

Professor Haug, a scholar of the greatest distinction, well-known at Bombay, and one of the most advanced scholars of the day, followed with a paper on the interpretation of the Veda; a subject of the greatest interest, but which no one can pretend to understand, who is not *educated* up to it, in the sense in which Mr. Disraeli pretends to educate his party to the level of his own political conceptions. Here a new difficulty met the Committee. The Professor is an excellent English scholar, and has written books in English in the most perfect style; but his pronunciation of English was such as can only be compared to the barking of a dog, and was perfectly unintelligible both to English and Germans: his paper also was inordinately long; and these two facts point to another rule for future Congresses, that the abstract of papers should be read rather than the whole production, with a rigidly-kept allowance of time, and that the Committee use a wise discretion in excluding those, however distinguished, who have not the divine power of addressing public audiences. We doubt not that to every word of Professor Haug, as it appears in print, the learned give their entire assent, and to no single proposition of Mr. Isaac Taylor in the Turanian Section did a single member yield even a conditional concurrence, yet the words of his address fell upon the audience with smooth and grateful cadence, and every word was heard and understood by every one who understood the English language.

Mr. Shunkur Pandurang Pandit addressed the Congress on

Hindu Law and its bearings on Violation of Caste : we would gladly have made remarks on the expressed sentiments of the representative of India, as his appearance was singularly prepossessing, his manner modest, his language well chosen, and well-pronounced ; but nothing, not even an outline, has appeared up to this date of his papers, though we are promised at some future date a *verbatim* official report, which will, probably, appear when the interest and memory of the Congress has passed away.

Professor Thibaut then read in the English language a paper on the Culva Sutras, a class of writing which contains "the very first beginning of geometry among the ancient Indians." In a sad and subdued tone, this obscure and uninteresting treatise fell upon the audience like the last straw on the camel's back ; and it fairly melted away under its influence.

By consent, however, a special adjourned meeting of the Aryan section was held on Friday morning at an early hour, and a practical paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Mitchell "on the Difficulty of rendering European Ideas in Eastern Languages." This was followed by a paper by Mr. Shunkur Pandurang Pandit, "on the Age of the Great Sanskrit Poet, Kalidasa." Two further papers were laid on the table, one by Dr. Wise on the "Ancient Systems of Hindu Medicine," and one by Colonel Ellis "on Certain Disputed Points of Indian History."

Baron Textor de Ravisi then raised a question regarding the chronology of India, founded upon an inscription on the Pagoda of Udaipur : his main object was to have this important inscription photographed, as at present the copies differed materially, and according to one version, a great revolution in the order of chronological events at present received, would be effected. As the requisition of the Baron is a simple one, there can be no doubt that it will be complied with.

On the table of the Congress were exposed to public view by Dr. Eggeling, the learned Secretary and Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, some of the extremely curious and valuable manuscripts belonging to that institution, or intrusted to them for submission to the Congress. Among others were some ancient Jain palm-leaf manuscripts dating from the 12th to the 14th century A.D., which is about the oldest date which can be assigned for any existing Indian manuscript, showing how far India falls behind Egypt, Greece, and Rome in this particular ; nor does India make up for the want of antiquity in her manuscripts by an over-abundant wealth or excessive age of her monuments on stone and metal, as in this particular also she falls centuries behind Assyria, Egypt, Asia-Minor, Arabia, Greece and Italy. In fact, under a closer inspection, the claim of India to high rank among the ancient monumental treasures of the world has been

entirely set aside, and all that has come down to us in block and stock is comparatively recent. On the other hand, uninterrupted tradition, oral and literary, has done for the great authors of India the same work of conservation, to which we owe the records of the Hebrew nation. Thus closed the Aryan Section. Brilliant as it was in many respects, it lacked that life and conflict of mind with mind, which appears to us to be of the essence of a Congress. We should have liked to have seen some evidences "of the searching and elaborate critical power" of the German, of the "sweetness and light" of the French, of the "practical good sense and sound judgment" of the English, illustrated *vivâ voce* before us: it may be unreasonable on our part, but standing on the highest bench of the theatre of the Royal Institution our eyes fell on the collective Oriental knowledge, (with some splendid exceptions,) of Europe, and we should have liked to have heard the sound of the voice of some of those men, whose faces we may never probably see again.

On the evening of the same day on which the Aryan section was held, the members of the Congress were summoned to the Hamitic Section, and were cruelly treated by being crushed into a small room in Conduit Street, where the members of the Society of Biblical Archæology ordinarily assemble, furnishing another illustration of the deficiency of organisation on the part of the Central Committee. Dr. Birch, the President of the Congress, presided over this, his peculiar section, and there was no lengthy address.

Professor Lepsius, one of the most eminent and experienced Egyptologists, led the way, as indeed his seniority entitled him, for we can ourselves recollect, how, in the year 1843, he and Mr. Bononis, who was also present at the Congress, were engaged in making researches in Egypt, and we came on the Professor, then in his youth, in the act of inscribing in hieroglyphics of his own composition, the praises of the King of Prussia over the entrance to the Great Pyramid of Gizieh, and we recalled the fact to his memory. Since then his special science had made vast strides. He proposed three points for the decision of the Congress, and we are happy to add, that in a special Conference of eight Egyptologists, they were disposed of before the Congress separated, and the decision formally engrossed in a protocol. It is unnecessary to read what these points were, but the circumstance is brought forward, as an instance of the advantage of a Congress.

To return to the Hamitic section, Professor Brugsch Bey, delegate from Egypt, delivered a *vivâ voce* lecture on a subject of great interest, and with a grace of manner and diction that could not be surpassed. By birth a German, and by profession a high official of the Khedive in Egypt, he addressed the audience in French, handling the subject with marvellous "sweetness and light,"

to which the modulation of his voice and the nobleness of his appearance greatly contributed. Every word fell like music on the listeners; and as the subject of the passage of the Hebrews from Egypt to Mount Sinai is one that must interest all, we subjoin an abstract of his remarks, reserving our own judgment on the question at issue.

"Directed by an order of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt, Ismael Pasha, to come to London in order to represent his country at the International Congress of Orientalists, the desire of this Prince was, that I might communicate to the enlightened public of England, who interest themselves in all Biblical questions, the results of my last researches on the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt. I have chosen for my theme the exodus of the Hebrews from Ramsés to their arrival at Elim. All savans, who have previously occupied themselves with the re-construction of this route, have taken as the basis of their researches the geography of Egypt during the time of the Lower Empire, comparing it with that of our days. So many savans, so many different opinions concerning this route. But all, with the exception of two, agree that the Jews went through the Red Sea. My own researches are founded on the geographical indications of Egyptian monuments, contemporary with the time of the exodus. I was able to reconstruct the Egypt of this epoch, with its 42 provinces, with its chief towns, and with a very great number of very curious details of the topography and also of its Divine rites. From this I have arrived at the following conclusions, which I consider unquestionable:—(1.) That the town of Ramsés 'differs in no way from the town of Zoan,' which is spoken of in the Bible as the place where Moses performed his miracles before the Pharaoh of his time. This is the same town which the Greeks called Tanès, and which was the chief town of the district Tanitis. (2.) That the town of Pithom, likewise mentioned in the Bible, was the chief town of the adjoining districts, called by the Greeks the district of Sethroïtès. The Semitic name of this same town, cited in the papyri of the British Museum, was Suko or Sukoth, which corresponds exactly with the second station at which the Hebrews camped after their exodus from Ramsés. (3.) The third station, called in the Bible Etham, bears the name of Hetham in the Egyptian texts; the name means 'the fortified.' This fort was situated westward from the place el-Kahtareh (*i.e.*, the bridge) of to-day on the confines of the desert. After having arrived at Etham the Hebrews turned to the North, and arrived then at (4) Migdol, which was the fourth station. The name is completely Egyptian, and means the fortress Magdolon of the Greek and Roman authors, situate at Tel-e-Semout of our day. Setting out from Migdol the Hebrews camped between Migdol and the sea (*i.e.*, the Mediterranean) before the entrance of the Hiroth (Pi-hahiroth), in face of Baal Zephon. The Hiroth, an Egyptian term, denotes those fearful abysses situated between the Mediterranean Sea and the Lake Sirbonis. The place of Baal Zephon, in Egyptian Baali Zapouna, is the name of a sanctuary situated at the Casian Mount. As Pharaoh and his army pursued the Hebrews on this isthmus between the sea and the lake of Sirbonis, to which the inscriptions give, as to all lakes even to the Red Sea, the name of Sea of Algæ (jam Suph) there befel the Egyptians at those places the same fate which, in the course of history, befel single travellers as well as whole armies—they were swallowed by the abysses of the sea of Algæ or Weeds. Once arrived at Mount Kasios, where was the Eastern frontier of ancient Egypt, and where the 'way of the Philistines' begins, the Hebrews traversed, in a southern direction, the desert to Marah, 'where the water was bitter.' These are the Bitter-water Lakes of our day. The sixth

station,' Elim, is called in Egyptian 'A-lim' (i.e., the town of 'fishes'), to the north of the Red Sea. All these indications exactly correspond in Hebrew and in Egyptian. No *savant* can separate them from one another nor alter the site now fixed once for all. The Egyptian papyri and monuments teach us equally—that the Egyptian title of 'Zaphnatphanekh,' borne by Joseph, is to be found in Egyptian under the form of 'Zaphu-net-phaankh,' signifying The governor of the district Sethroites; (2) that the second title of Joseph, Ab of the Pharaoh, is Egyptian; it signifies, 'The first officer of the House of Pharaoh'; (3) That the town Pithom worshipped God under the name 'The living God,' which corresponds exactly with the meaning of the name 'Jehova'; (4) that a serpent of brass, called Kereh (the polished), was regarded as the living symbol of God. This is without doubt the serpent of Moses, the rite of which prevailed at Jerusalem until the time of the King Hezekiah. The papyri inform us likewise that the Hebrews, intermixed with other people of Semitic origin, inhabited during their sojourn in Egypt the districts of Ramsés and of Pithom; that they were compelled to build certain constructions in both of these towns until Moses delivered them 'out of the house of their bondage.' As the Jewish legislator performed his miracles before Pharaoh, the latter gave the order to his 'kartoumin' (i.e., thaumaturges) to do the same. We meet once more a name which is Egyptian. The word in question signifies 'high priests' of the town of Ramsés. This coincidence here is again perfect. The name of the Hebrews, which some have proposed to compare with a word 'Apiru,' cited in the Egyptian texts, does not exist; at least, nobody has met with it until now. But the name of Moses (in Hebrew Moshé) is to be found in the name of a place called 'Isle of Moshé,' which is situated on the right border of the Nile, in the Heptanome. The Roman itineraries have designated it by the name of Musac or Mouson. Science cannot decide, whether the Jewish legislator was meant or an Egyptian of the same name."

The attention of the Congress was then drawn by the Baron Textor de Ravisi to the important publications of the Societies of Algiers. Northern Africa, like the rest of the world, has in these last days been compelled to give up its treasures of monumental inscriptions in the Berber and Punic languages, and the French rulers have not been found wanting to work this rich and virgin field.

Next followed a discourse by a really eminent man on a subject of unusual interest. Professor Ebers, one of the greatest of Egyptologists, described briefly the nature and contents of the great "Medical Papyrus" which he had obtained at Thebes, and was about to publish; but alas for the hearers! The lecturer spoke only very rapid and very guttural German, and the only sound which many took home with them, was the oft-repeated word, "Papeeroos." It appears that this marvellous book consists of 110 pages without a single character wanting, and in a wonderful state of preservation: it is the only complete book from the time of the Pharaoh. Its date is firmly attributed to 1600 B.C. The contents furnish a favourable testimony to the knowledge and industry of the ancient Egyptian medical men; the men, we must remember, who embalmed the bodies of Joseph and Jacob, for to

that date we are carried back, and the book is full of quotations from still older authors. For students of old Egyptian grammar, this book is of surpassing value, and great additions are made by it to the vocabulary. Facsimiles of this venerable monument have been made, which have given its contents an unlimited lease of future life; and art has become the handmaid of science to such an extent, that under the new process, it is really difficult to distinguish the facsimile from the original. In a few months the whole work with a translation and glossary will be before the public.

Professor Eisenlohr then read a paper on the contents of the mathematical Papyrus of the British Museum, which is a copy made 1700 B.C. of an original assigned to 2000, a date anterior to the call of Abraham. It must be remembered, that these astounding facts are stated by Germans from a manuscript in the custody of Dr. Birch in the British Museum, and in the presence of the French *savans* themselves, the earliest and most indefatigable in the field of Egyptology. The boldest may well hold their breath for a time, and wish that their lives might be extended to enjoy the strength which the next quarter of a century must pour into the lap of the survivors, the happy inheritors of the treasures of this generation of industry and ingenuity.

Papers were then laid on the table on the Royal tombs of Abydes, and the proportions of the great pyramid of Gizeh. A few remarks were made on a purely technical matter by Professor Lieblein of Christiania, and Professor Duemichen; and the meeting closed, to which, perhaps, the palm of superiority over all other meetings of the Congress must be conceded: and, if only an interpreter could have stood forward, and rapidly communicated the nature of the remarks made in foreign languages, the pleasure would have been complete, as it would have been shared by all.

On Thursday the Congress again met in the theatre of the Royal Institution for the Archæological Section. Mr. Grant Duff, M.P. for the Elgin Burghs, and late Under-Secretary of State for India, was in the chair; to which, however, he was well entitled by the intelligent interest which he had manifested in the subject, and by the excellent address with which he commenced proceedings, an address not dealing with generalities, but conveying a great deal of new and interesting information. The subject of archæology is truly gigantic, and only came before the Congress, as a matter subsidiary to the real objects of the meeting, which were strictly linguistic; but the aid of the archæologist, the palæontologist of man's works, the numismatist, and the palæographist, are essential to the linguist.

Mr. Duff at once narrowed the subject to British Indian archæology, excluding the vast fields of Algerine, Egyptian, Cypriote, Syrian, Assyrian, Ephesian and Trojan discoveries, each of which would form a subject for a day's tournament: he described to the Congress what steps the Government of India had taken to set on foot an archæological survey, the details of which are well known to the readers of the *Review*, but were new and interesting to many foreign members of the Congress, specially the discovery of Bharahut in the Deccan by General Cunningham. It is right to place on record the classification of styles of Indian architecture, which he has made as the result of his extensive researches.

HINDU STYLES.

1. Archaic	from	1000 B.C.	to	250 B.C.
2. Indo-Grecian	"	250	"	57
3. Indo-Scythian	"	57	"	319 A.D.
4. Indo-Sassanian	"	319 A.D.	"	700
5. Mediæval Brâhmans	"	700	"	1200
6. Modern Brâhmans	"	1200	"	1750

MOHAMEDAN STYLES.

1. Ghorî Pathân	(overlapping arches)	1191 A.D.	to	1289 A.D.
2. Khiljî Pathân	(horse-shoe arches)	1289	"	1321
3. Tughlak Pathân	(sloping walls)	1321	"	1450
4. Afghân	(perpendicular walls)	1450	"	1555
5. Bengali Pathân		1200	"	1500
6. Jaunpuri Pathân		1400	"	1500
7. Early Mughul		1556	"	1628
8. Late Mughul		1628	"	1750

Mr. Duff gave due praise to the Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, a periodical which cannot be spoken of too highly. He also stated emphatically that the Government of India had not neglected their duties as custodians of the archæological treasures of India as, indeed, is well-known to all who are acquainted with India: there is, indeed, a limit, within which the action of an absolute Government is restricted, and it is monstrous to suppose that any Government could undertake to keep in repair all the tombs, mosques, temples, gateways, palaces, and forts, which their predecessors had erected with lavish hand in every part of India, many also being of second or third rate importance, while some few were of surpassing excellence and interest. We extract Mr. Duff's words:—

I am convinced that with every decade we shall have a better and better report to give of the care which is being bestowed by the present rulers of India on the works of their predecessors. We are fond of denouncing ourselves for want of proper attention to these matters. There are

few things that Englishmen like so little as being denounced by other people, but there is nothing that they like so much as denouncing themselves. Cool-headed observers, however, looking at the enormous amount of absolutely necessary work that had to be done before the first beginnings of a civilised polity were laid in India, which was rapidly going to utter ruin when we first grew strong there, will be inclined to condone our insufficient attention to the preservation and illustration of ancient monuments in the past, if we only now attend to them sufficiently; and having had the opportunity of seeing a good deal behind the scenes in matters Indian, I think I may say very positively that those who administer the Government of India consider themselves more and more in all things relating to science, art, and literature in India as trustees, not only for their own countrymen and for India, but for the whole civilised world. That is a view which I strongly hold myself, and which, should circumstances again place me in an influential position in connexion with the Government of India, I shall always do what I can to carry into effect.

Dr. Eggeling, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, then read a most interesting, and suggestive paper on the inscriptions of Southern India: "Literary documents, Sanskrit, or Vernacular," "are scanty and untrustworthy: these inscriptions became the sole reliable evidence, and it was satisfactory to know that there were thousands of inscriptions both on stone and copper plates, scattered all over India, especially in the Deccan, an examination of which might be expected to throw light on many a dark point of Hindu chronology." It was suggested that some general and systematic plan might be adopted to render Indian inscriptions accessible to European scholars by means of faithful *photographs*, for nothing less than that would now satisfy students: and these photographs should be taken on sufficiently large a scale to allow of the closest scrutiny of each bend of the letter, and each spot, and should be taken with reference solely to the inscription, and not the architectural surroundings; thus gradually a great *Corpus inscriptionum* for the whole of India would be worked out. It is only to be added that the whole world has in these last days gone mad after inscriptions on the rock, on stone tablets, on metal, and on pottery; and behind, or rather before, the archæologist and the inscription-hunter, stalks the pest of modern times, "the forger," and the literary journals of Europe resound with controversies over treasures alleged to be false, and warnings against rash and hasty purchasers.

Papers were then laid on the table by Professor R. G. Bhandarkar of Bombay, on the "Nassick inscriptions;" by Mr. Hyde Clarke on the ancient river-names of India, and "their relation with similar names in America;" and by Professor Leitner on Greco-Buddhist sculptures. Thus closed the archæological section. On the following day, Saturday, the last of the Congress, after visiting the Kensington Museum, the company came together to hear Professor Owen in the Ethnological Section. This section

was also quite subsidiary to the main object of the Congress, and considering the limited time for the real work of the meetings, might have been dispensed with. The venerable form and learned words of Professor Owen may be seen and heard elsewhere, and every day; and the inordinate length of his address seemed to paralyse the frames of all. What he said, might have been said in fewer words, and yet not have lost their solemn and startling effect on the casual hearers. The days of the school of Archbishop Usher are numbered; the duration of mankind is found to extend over periods of thousands of years, instead of hundreds; the deluge is localised, and did not include Egypt; and vast changes have been made in the geological features of the globe since the creation of man. Such and such were the doctrines of the old man eloquent, propounded to the collected Oriental wisdom of Europe, doctrines which must neither be rejected with scorn, nor accepted in blind trust; like other great truths they must be sifted, and thought over, and discussed in this generation to form the foundation of accepted facts in the next.

We make some brief extracts from this most important address.

"Zoological and geological evidences concur to point out a pre-historic race of mankind, existing generation after generation on a continent, which in course of gradual geological change, has been broken up into insular patches of land; there such a race is still open to ethnological study. * * * I would impress upon ethnologists to set aside ideas of the actual disposition of land and sea as being necessarily related thereto, and to associate with the beginning of such forms (of humanity) a lapse of time in harmony with the latest geological change of the earth's surface."

"Fain would I have found facts to square with this conscience-enforcing principle, and hard was the struggle against the pre-possession of sacerdotal education in being brought by the cause of daily duty face to face with phenomena, subversive of the idea of the distribution of mankind from the plains of Shinar at the Biblical date of the building of Babel."

"In our present palæontological evidence of the antiquity of the human race, seven thousand years seem but a brief period to be allotted to the earliest, the oldest civilised, and governed community." "Physiology compels a retrospect far beyond historical periods of time for the establishment of these varieties (of the human race.)"

We quote these words as a faithful chronicle of the most important facts carried away by the members of the Congress to their countries, their kindred, and their studies. The report of the Congress will appear in all the great languages of Europe, and

be studied and referred to by men of a great variety of intellectual development. At the same time the *Times* and the other great organs of public intelligence published the address, and gave it a circulation over the whole world. Professor Owen must have felt the importance of the time and the occasion; arrived at three score and ten, he announced solemnly the results of study and reflection extending over half a century, widened by travel and association with the most learned of Europe—and in this lies the deep importance of his statements.

Dr. Forbes Watson, Keeper of the Indian Museum, then read portions of his memoir on the "Foundation of an Indian Institution for Lecture, Inquiry and Teaching." M. Leon de Rosny, the President of the First Congress at Paris, read a paper "on the most ancient Chinese palæography." He maintained that "he had determined the ancient phonetic form of the Chinese spoken language: he had also proved that the writing, commonly called 'ideographic' was not a writing composed of images (like that of the ancient Mexicans), although reported so in the writing of Sinologists. No inscription can be found with the figurative characters in any of the larger palæographic collections of the Chinese, but in *phonetical* characters, viz., in letters expressing 'sound' and not 'objects' or 'ideas.' The written language had been developed by a special class of literati, who wished to express ideas superior to the state of civilisation of former times. They were thus obliged, in order to indicate special shades of thought, to invent a number of different characters, representing the several significations, which they wished to give to each *word* of the spoken language."

Following these important statements with regard to the characters used by one of the oldest nations of the world, uprose a German, Dr. Bachmaier, with the last new invention of the kind, called *pasigraphy*, a "system of universal writing by means of numbers." As this may also be a genus of a new development of the next generation, we quote a statement of his method, of which he gave a practical illustration, by distributing five hundred copies of his *Pasigraphical Dictionary* in English, German, and French, gratuitously among the members of the Congress.

The most indispensable words in a given language, "say about four thousand, are numbered, and the same figures are used to denote the respectively equivalent words in another language, thus enabling an Englishman and German, though each may be ignorant of the other's tongue, to exchange ideas in writing."

Mr. Fred. Drew then read a paper "on the Castes and Customs of the Dards;" he was followed amidst the rapidly evaporating patience of the audience, by Mr. Basil Cooper, with an abstruse paper "on the Date of Menes of Egypt;" and by the Rev. J. Long,

so favourably known in Calcutta, with a paper on "Oriental Proverbs and their Use." His suggestion, that no time should be lost in collecting the proverbs floating on the lips of the people of India in so many languages, was practical and important; and Mr. Long having given publicity to the subject, should lose no time in giving to the world his own collections of proverbs, as a *nucleus* round which an aggregation will soon be formed. There is a deep truth, no doubt, in the remarks made with regard to proverbs which are indeed the words of one man, but the sentiments of a neighbourhood, the laws of old age, the unwritten moral code of a people.

But the Congress was rapidly degenerating into a mob: the Saturday half-holiday movement of London had infected the *savans* of Europe: it was in vain to try to fix attention on any subject. Mr. Duchateau placed on record that a paper of a compatriot which was promised had not arrived; and Professor Jules Oppert from an elevated part of the Theatre, in an excited and theatrical manner addressed the House in the French language, thanking the English members of the Congress for the great and cordial hospitality afforded to them. He further remarked with justice "that the English public had not only received with marked interest the communications made to the different sections, but also the newspapers have filled their columns with the records of the proceedings of the Orientalists, giving their speeches *in extenso*. It is difficult to create, still more difficult to preserve. If to the Paris Congress belonged the merit of inaugurating these great meetings of Oriental scholars; to that of London belongs the honour of having consolidated the undertaking, and of assuring its continued existence."

Small thanks are due to the English press, as in the month of September with general quiet in the Political, Home, Colonial, and Foreign world, the editors were reduced to chronicle abnormal turnips and heavy bags of partridges, and jumped eagerly at the opportunity of airing their knowledge of the East, and filled up columns with facts about philology culled from text-books; but great thanks are due to any Englishmen, who, at a sacrifice of their own arrangements, came from great distances to be present at the Congress.

The last duty of the Congress, which had now become a tumultuous concourse of very noisy atoms, was to decide where the third Congress should be held, and who was to be the President. The Council had deliberated with closed doors in an adjoining house, and come to a decision on both subjects, and the President of the Congress, Dr. Birch, returning to the Lower House, announced in truly Russian absolute style, that there was to be no discussion, no option in the matter, but that the Congress

must accept the place and the man upon whom the Upper House had determined. That place was St. Petersburg, a place well-known for its great and inconvenient distance; that man was Count Woronzoff Dashkow, well-known for nothing. We are not ashamed to confess our ignorance, as it is shared by the editors of hand-books of contemporary biography, who are pretty liberal in their insertion of names of men, whether really or falsely distinguished. Unquestionably Berlin or Vienna ought to have been the scene of the third Congress, one of the two centres of the great German nation, which has done so much for Oriental research. If owing to the unfortunate national alienation between France and Germany, it was not deemed expedient to select Germany, there were at least the convenient neutral grounds of Geneva or Turin available. Those who have insisted on St. Petersburg, have done so with a great responsibility, as few of Western Europe can afford the time and money for so long a pilgrimage. The announcement was received with manifest signs of dissatisfaction.

Then ended the Congress of 1874. The evening was devoted to a dinner with the Lord Mayor, and post-prandial speeches, which it would be scarcely suitable to chronicle. In a country tolerant of all religions, one "cultus" must not be neglected; like the "Numen Imperatorum" of the Romans, the worship of the belly-god must be accepted; so the Germans were hurried off in cabs from their beer and pipes to the Mansion House to look at strange things on their plates, and listen to the characteristic speech of Sir Andrew Lusk, who impressed upon his guests the very low order of sentiment, that dinner was "the touch of nature that made the whole world kin." What a fall was this! What a lamentable conclusion to the lectures and addresses of Rawlinson, Max Müller, and Owen! If the miserable necessity of sustaining exhausted nature by periodical supplies were indeed the missing link, of what use the expenditure of brain in compelling antiquity to give up the stores of inscriptions and paintings laid up by races who had aspirations higher than could be satisfied by feasting with a Lord Mayor? In one respect, however, the arrangements at the dinner were more sensible than those at the Congress, for, when the Lay Figures of the Assembly, who had sat patiently through six days of English, German, and French speeches, without understanding one word, the Patriarch of Syria and his Suffragan responded to the toast of "the health of His Holiness, the head of a church founded by St. Peter, and also of, *perhaps*, the most primitive and simple Christian Church which had come down to the present time," his words were interpreted by one of Her Majesty's Consuls, but their exact purport was not recorded.

Opportunity was taken at the Congress to give publicity and due honour to two institutions, which have done more for propagating correct Oriental knowledge than, we are ashamed to say, either of the Universities of England. One of these institutions was an enterprising publisher, the other the Venerable British and Foreign Bible Society.

Mr. Stephen Austen of Hertford submitted for inspection one hundred and twenty volumes, printed in Oriental and foreign types, in no less than thirty-one languages, in several characters, some of these unique. Many of these books were published as well as printed at the expense of the late East India Company, the British Museum, the Bible Society, the India Office, and private firms. Medals have been awarded at the different exhibitions at home and abroad; but none who have the progress of Oriental knowledge at heart can fail to admit that much is owing to Mr. Austen, an energetic, an enterprising spirit, working no doubt for his own advantage, but certainly in a field occupied by himself alone.

Members of the Congress visited the library of the Venerable British and Foreign Bible Society, a sight not the least worthy to be seen of the many sights of London. What other library can exhibit translations of the Bible in two hundred languages, ranging over the whole field of philology, from the monosyllabic to the polysynthetic, from the finished Sanskrit, which is the result of the labour and ingenuity of centuries, to the poor unsettled jargons of the Esquimaux and the South Seas? And the reflection arises that this is the work, not of sovereigns, not of parliaments, not of general councils, not of synods, but of the combined action of Protestant Churches, obeying the first principle of the religion which they profess.

What advantage, it may now be asked, is there from such Congresses? Much, we answer, every way. Nobody, we flatter ourselves, will rise from the careful reading of this imperfect narrative, without a feeling of how circumscribed the field of his own knowledge is, how vast the subject, how short the life of man. To many a man of those who were present, it will be looked back to as the date of a new life: he heard many words, which he will not readily forget: he exchanged words with men, whom it was an honour to know: he had ideas forced upon him, which, though he cannot accept, he cannot hastily thrust aside, and which will be the keystone of his reading for many a year. These remarks apply to scholars, who have, as it is were, graduated in the science of language: but to those who are still outside, perhaps from this Congress may be dated their first glimmering notion as to what was the meaning of Aryan and Hamitic. Upon them the words of Max Müller must have fallen like the light of a torch, and of Professor Owen like a revelation.

It is idle to deny that there were serious drawbacks. There were some irrepressible speakers, who were never tired of hearing their own voices, and had no sympathy with the audience on that matter : they might have been gently repressed. There were others, whose voices were never heard, though greatly desired : they might have been called upon in a complimentary manner. There were many papers too long : on such occasions there should be an absolute rule of time by an hour-glass without any relaxation, except the acclamation of the audience ; there were some papers wholly unsuited for the occasion, learned and abstract discussion of minutiae, interesting at the best to but a limited number of scholars. The Council should have declined to accept such, and used a wise discretion :

There was, as repeatedly remarked, no attempt by the simple machinery of an interpreter to bring the different nationalities into *rapprochement* with each other. The President of the section should at least have spoken two languages, and a selected friend should have been by his side for the third : the speech and the paper being limited in length, a few pointed sentences would give the purport of it sufficient for the moment. Much might be done by a wider and easier circulation of programmes of the papers to be read, or affixing notice of the business of the day on the screen. It was a perfect shame to talk about any section discussing anything : the inordinate length of the address, entirely unintelligible to many, partially so to many more, swallowed up the greater portion of the time : in these two particulars there was an entire miscarriage of the work of the Congress.

Still greater was the miscarriage as regards the "locality" of the Congress ; and the Council are more to be blamed, as they erred in spite of knowledge and of opportunity. By a fortunate coincidence they had the theatre of the Royal Institution for their meetings, and the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society next door for their office, place of rendezvous, and centre of information, where their Secretary should have been seated "*en permanence*" during the whole to answer questions and receive and make communications to the numerous strangers in this large city. The Council were entirely and completely wanting in this particular : from a fancied compliment to members of their own body, they tried to crush one section into a small library in St. Martin's Lane : they stifled another in a back room in Conduit Street : they carried off a third section to the uncomfortable theatre at King's College, more adapted for under-graduates than for ladies and gentlemen. There was no opportunity of getting information ; and the inconvenience to foreigners, which was inseparable from a large city such as London, was magnified

by the dispersion of the sections, and the absence of any managing body.

Still it was a great success; and the foreign members dispersed to their homes, feeling that it was so. The *Times*, and other journals, felt that it was so also; that the subject was one deserving of a Congress, and that a Congress had been held worthy of the subject. We subjoin an extract from the leader of the *Times* with reference to our concluding remarks:—

“The members of the Congress of Orientalists are properly welcomed in the city of London because England, with its widening circle of responsibilities in the East, can afford to neglect no source of influence, no note of warning. The history, the literature, the archæology, the jurisprudence, and the philosophy of the Eastern nations have for the scholars of the Continent a speculative attraction; for Englishmen, and even for those who are not scholars, they have a direct practical interest, because the more we know of Eastern methods of thinking and lines of character the less likely shall we be to make mistakes in dealing with our Indian subjects and their neighbours.”

“It is only by the prosecution of such researches that the most perplexing and, at the same time, most interesting problems of modern criticism can be solved, and a generous recognition is due to the patience and devotion with which Oriental scholars have worked their way through incredible difficulties to our present knowledge. From mere fragments of literature they have deciphered no fewer than five languages—Persian, Median, Babylonian, and two sorts of Assyrian; and it will not be long before the key of the whole past is in our hands.”

“The Orientalists just now are filling a large space in our sphere of vision, and even from a more distant point of view they will really have a great deal to show as proof that they have not been idle. But we must remember, too, that such results as they can give us are, after all a very small part of the scientific material which the world has at its command, and, though it would be unsafe to neglect them, it would be far more unsafe to rely upon them too exclusively. Nor have we any right to demand that those who are engaged in digging the metal from the mine should also fashion it for use. The use will assuredly come later; indeed, in some part it has come already. Scholars have employed the results of Oriental research with splendid effect to explain and illustrate the nature of the slow evolution of legal and philosophical conceptions. Our Oriental scholars have enabled us also to correct some old philological mistakes, and we shall not be able in future to think that Latin is derived from Greek or Greek from Latin, since we have now learnt that they are really sister-languages and of the same family as the Sanskrit.”

The remarks which we would make in closing, are adapted to the Oriental scholars and to the English Universities. Scholars should bear in mind, that though it is necessary to respect the field of study in order to secure accuracy of knowledge, yet that one particular branch of the subject is only a part of the great whole, and that the study of language, as a whole, and of archæology, are but means to an end, are but steps in the great study of the human mind in all its developments. Some scholars forget their position, and to use a simile, devote their minds to the

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making of *bricks* instead of erecting *buildings*. It is perhaps the German school which errs most on this pedantic side, and trifles about the "minutiæ of philology, the "anise and cummin" of language. Accurate and sound scholarship may be bought at too dear a price, if the scholar forgets that all his knowledge is but relative and tributary. The Aryan schools have also made too much of their discoveries, forgetting that there are higher laws, which must be evoked, than that of Grimm, and a wider arena of comparative knowledge than the limited one of the Indo-Germanic family.

And to the English Universities, now on their trial, we would suggest that it is a great and crying disgrace, that in so great a tournament of philological science they should have been unrepresented: if any of their members came, they came as individuals only to repeat the old story, that no languages but our dear old friends, Latin and Greek, had any value on the Isis and the Cam. Out of their princely revenues, their scores of fellowships, their plurality of professional chairs, how inadequate, how ill-applied the provision for any one of the languages represented at this Congress? At every German University there are Semitic and Aryan chairs filled by men of European reputation, and a gathering of German and foreign students; and the Oriental languages, ancient and modern, have taken their places by the side of their occidental sisters. It is the same spirit which resisted Dean Colet and Erasmus in the instruction of Greek, which opposes the establishment of Oriental chairs and the widening of the field of instruction up to the requirements of modern knowledge. The Royal Asiatic Society has, during the last year, memorialised the University of Oxford, praying for the endowment out of their ample funds of a Semitic chair at that University: but nothing will be done while Dr. Pusey lives, who has narrowed the study of Hebrew down to the limits of Biblical exegesis, while Arabic is neglected, and Syriac altogether left out of notice. A return of the princely revenues set apart for purposes of education and study, has lately been made to Parliament; and we may hope ere long to see chairs established in every branch of the Aryan, Semitic, Turanian, and Pseudo-Turanian families.

ART. III.—RURAL MADRAS.

IN spite of all the changes that have passed over this land, the Indian village remains the same as it was hundreds of years ago. Army after army swept over the country; but as soon as one had passed by, the ryot began to cultivate his fields again as if nothing had happened. The Government has been changed times without number, but the government of the village has remained the same in all ages—a republic that Plato might have envied. It has had its headman and his subordinates, each knowing and doing his proper work from the time villages were first formed. The Indian village must at first have struck its roots deep into the ground, or it never could have maintained itself to the present time. The fiery Muhammadan was as different from the Hindu, as it was possible to be, but the latter settled down under the rule of the former, and cultivated his fields, and married, and gave in marriage just the same as if one of his own people ruled over him, and he paid his rent to the stranger, if not with alacrity, with that stolidness for which he is noted.

The village system has been the saving of India, while at the same time it has prevented its people from becoming a nation. The village is all powerful—a perfect model—but we might as well try to make a rope of mud, as to join the villages of India together. Every village has always been a small kingdom with its nominal head, the “Great Mogul,” the Kumpani, or the Queen; with a ruler who was better known, the Governor of the province, or better still, the Collector of the district; but the real head lived in the village and was to its inhabitants a substance, not a shadow. India can never be viewed as a whole, but as a number of particles, not forming a homogeneity in anything like a political sense. It may be that the present Government will mould the whole into one mass; but it does not now appear that such a result is at all likely, at least, not for a long time to come. As the system held its own, while the iron rule of the Musalmán was in force, it seems likely to do the same under the more tolerant and civilising government of the British. As an instance of the hold that the village has on the people, we may instance the fact, that when a man removes to a town and lives in it for half a century, he still looks upon the village from which he came as his home; and his children after him tell you that they belong to such a village, and not to the town in which they are living.

In whatever part of the Presidency we may travel, the villages present much the same appearance. They are, it is true, better

built in those parts where the inhabitants are doing well than in those districts where the ryot can hardly raise produce enough from the land to pay the *kist* to Government and keep himself and his family alive. In the deltas of the Godavery and the Kistna, and in the rich district of Tanjore, the houses of the ryots are generally built of brick, and tiled. But the general characteristic is the same as that of their poorer brethren in Bellary or Nellore.

The first thing that would strike a stranger to India on coming near a village, would be the great amount of waste land that lies around; and he would naturally ask where the land was that the ryots cultivated. He would be told in reply that it lay at a distance from the homes of the ryots. The village lies in the midst of a grove like an oasis in the midst of uncultivated land. An average Indian village consists of one main street—if street it may be called—where the caste-people reside, and outside the place may be seen the huts of the out-castes—the pariahs and the shoemakers. An Indian village—or at least, a Madras village—is not built with an eye to symmetry. The houses are not arranged in rows, but are pitched here and there, just as the builders thought fit. To see a Madras village at its best, one must enter it about seven o'clock in the morning. Then the ryot has not yet left for the field, but is looking after his work at home or else is gossiping with his neighbours. The Komatie (trader) is beginning to open his little shop, and the Brahmin is returning from his morning bath and his devotions in his favourite tank; while the women are busy ornamenting the thresholds of their houses with liquid chunam. They make an attempt to draw flowers and animals, and although they generally lamentably fail, sometimes something like a drawing is made which shows that if the designer had been properly trained, she might have turned out a fair artist. The way in which they do this ornamentation is very peculiar; they put the liquid chunam in their hands and placing the palm upwards, let it trickle between their fingers. The walking almanac is an institution, I believe, peculiar to this part of India. This man, who is always a Brahmin, goes round to the houses of the well-to-do inhabitants, and tells them the day of the month, the age of the moon, and any phenomenon that is likely to occur during the day. Then the butter-milk seller goes up and down the road crying out what she has to sell, and we may remark, that she is quite an institution in Southern India. The Government officials march about the place with all the majesty, and with more than the pride, of a Viceroy; and there is for a time a general stir in the little world, and work and gossip are carried on by turns. Soon after this the ryots leave the fields, and the village settles down into its daily routine

of dulness. Often the only sound that can be heard is that of a woman calling out to a neighbour in the peculiar shrill voice of females of the East, or the bark of a dog, and then the silence reigns supreme.

The house of the ryot is not the most comfortable abode that might be found. We will take the dwelling of a well-to-do member of this class, and see what it is like. The dwelling itself generally stands a little way back from the road, though there is a wall, generally made of mud, that separates the compound from the road. By the side of this wall there is a mud or chunam pial erected on which the ryot sits and chats with his neighbours after the labour of the day is over, in the undress peculiar to the natives of this country. In the wall a door is placed for ingress and egress, and in many cases the cattle also find lodgings within the compound. If the ryot is well to do, he leaves a large space between the front wall and his house, and in this space, he keeps his cattle and his agricultural implements. The house of the ryot presents a blank wall in front—a common feature in Hindu architecture—and behind the wall, the dwelling begins. The house is invariably quadrangular, the court-yard in the centre being always open to the air, and the rooms are arranged all round. In some cases the rooms are separate huts, but, as a rule, they are connected; and on the side nearest to the street a slight verandah is built under which the males of the family often sleep. The principal room, which is generally in the right hand corner, is used by the head of the family, and the rest occupy the other portions of the house. The most sacred room of all in the eyes of a caste Hindu, the cook-room, is at the back, far from the gaze of those who may be of a different caste from the occupant. The rooms are small and dark, having no windows, and the only mode of ventilation is the door. In the sleeping apartments there is sometimes a cot, but it is generally of the rudest description, and where it is not to be found, the family sleeps on mats. In the verandah is always the rice-pounder, a stone mortar in which the grain is shelled with a heavy club with a ring of iron at one end. The pounding is always performed by women, and it is suprising with what facility they throw up the heavy club, and before it has fallen to the bottom make it rise again. To a European the work would be less interesting than working on the tread-mill, but the native takes to it with a good will, and goes on chatting all the time. The compound is any thing but a picture of neatness, for straw stacks, buffaloes, bullocks, and all sorts of odds and ends lie about on every side.

The ryot takes his first meal, which consists of boiled rice and butter-milk, early in the morning, before he goes to his work. He sets out for the fields with his plough over his shoulder, and

driving his bullocks before him at about half-past seven in the morning, the cows having been let out to graze a little earlier. Arrived at the fields, he begins to scratch the land, for it cannot be called ploughing, and the work is continued till about eleven o'clock, when he leaves off for a time in order to take his mid-day meal, which is generally brought to him by one of the females of the family. After a rest, and a siesta, work is resumed, and continues till about four in the afternoon, when he returns to the village. The females of the house have, during the meantime, been pounding the rice and doing the usual household work, the young married women being made to do the greater part. But when the ryot reaches home his work is not yet finished. There is a good deal to be done about the house, and this is the time for it to be done. At about five his labours cease, and he is at liberty to enjoy himself, if it is in the nature of the Madras ryot to do so. When it is cool, he either visits his friends, or they come to see him, and the business and scandal of the little community are freely talked about, and the merits of the officials are freely canvassed. If the Collectors and their Assistants could only hear the criticisms that are made on these occasions, they might, if they were so inclined, gain a great deal of information that would be useful to them. Reasons are given for measures by Government, that the framers would never have dreamt of, and the most curious tales that are circulated are the most believed. The ryot takes his evening meal between eight and nine o'clock, which is brought to him by the females of his family, and they wait on him and on the other males till it is over, and then take their own. One day with the ryot is just like another, except at the feasts and the marriages in his family.

The chief event in the life of a ryot is a marriage. We will suppose that his son has arrived at the mature age, say eight or ten, and in a solemn conclave the family have decided that he ought to be united to some member of the opposite sex. The female members have fixed on the identical young lady that they wish to secure as the wife of the future head of the house, but a great amount of diplomacy is required before the matter can be concluded. The village barber is taken into confidence, and he throws out hints to the parents of the young lady, who may be of the mature age of five years, that matters must be brought to a crisis. So the father of the young gentleman goes over to the house of the bride elect, and for the first time or two there is nothing said on the subject on which both are thinking most intently. The scene in "Little Dorrit," in which the difficulty of bringing Lord Decimus Tite Barnacle and Mr. Muddle together is depicted, illustrates the state of mind of these two men exactly; but at last they come to terms. The father of the young lady is willing to

deliver her up to the father of the young gentleman if he will give her a certain sum of money and a certain number of jewels. The bargaining takes a long time, but at last the negotiators come to a conclusion, and the day is fixed for the wedding. The sinews of war have to be provided, and ryots often involve themselves for life on these occasions. First, friends are asked to contribute, and they generally do help, but it is the *soucar* who is called in and who has to provide the greater part of the needful. Of this gentleman more will be said presently. A large *pandal* is erected in front of the house, and the people of the same caste are invited to feast themselves to their hearts' content, while the native musicians send out the most horrible sounds the whole time. The Brahmins have presents of rice given to them, and to near relatives cloths have to be presented. On certain days the poor young people are carried round the village in a kind of open palanquin, and sitting opposite to each other they hang down their heads and look as sheepish and miserable as it is possible to look. Poor little things! they are objects of pity; for they are kept up to a frightful pitch of excitement for a number of days, and the after-depression must be terrible. But it gives them delight, and the old people live over again in the enjoyment of their children and grandchildren. The money that is given to the priest who performs the ceremony is not small, and the sums spent in other ways are very large. The ryot and his family have to put up with many a light meal on account of the few days' revelling.

The ryot has his feasts at which he enjoys himself in his own way, and now and then he visits a holy place to perform a vow that he has made in the time of trouble. On these pilgrimages he generally takes a number of the females of his family, and shut up as they are during the whole year, they heartily enjoy the trip. In fact, it is generally thought that it is the women who keep up the pilgrimages.

But pilgrimages bring us to the subject of religion. The ryot, though not a religious man, is most certainly a most superstitious one. He believes something, though he would find it hard to say what that something is. He performs a number of ceremonies regularly, and observes the feasts, but he looks upon everything much in the same light as the peasants of Spain and Italy look upon their festivals. After a fashion, the ryot is generally a Sivaite, and wears the horizontal mark on his forehead, which he religiously puts on just after taking his mid-day meal. He believes, as far as can be made out, that there are certain powers that he ought to propitiate. He has, therefore, Siva, the destroyer, as his deity, and next to him he prefers Rāma, about whom and his wife Sita he has picked up some most

wonderful tales, which do not decrease in their marvellousness by being again repeated by him.

In most cases, however, the ryot, although professing to be a follower of Siva, really devotes his worship to the village god or goddess. The temple is placed generally outside the village, and here, at certain times, the whole of the caste-people of the place join together to worship, and the distinctions of rank are forgotten. The noise and confusion at the village feasts are tremendous. There the ryots muster with their families, and in their way they enjoy themselves thoroughly, though to the European it is hard to discover in what the pleasure consists.

But the tendency of Hinduism in this part of India is towards disintegration, and the ryot seeks something smaller than the village pagoda, and something more belonging to himself. So he sets up a small temple of his own, of the rudest description, in which—or rather before which—for it is generally too small to enter, he offers up something to propitiate the evil deities in whom he so thoroughly believes. Some ryots will have two or three of these shrines, and some of them have one in almost every field. These rural temples are generally built of clay, and before them the worshippers offer up fruit or sugarcane to propitiate some deity or other that they think is likely to trouble them. The ryot has a number of gods and goddesses, generally the latter, to trouble him, and to destroy his crops and his cattle, or to give disease to himself or to his family. These must be propitiated, and for some a cocoanut and a small quantity of sugar are sufficient, while others require more costly offering. Even the snakes in many parts of the Presidency come in for a large share of worship, and more than their share of offerings. By some train of reasoning, the people make these reptiles into gods, and the more dangerous a snake is the greater is his rank in the order of godship and the more disinclined are the people to kill it. The ryot divides the large gods into small ones, and the small into smaller, and still his division does not end here, for like Goldsmith's schoolmaster he goes on dividing still. A writer in a native journal described the deities of the country as "gods, sub-gods, and sub-assistant-gods," and he was not very far wrong. When the villager performs his devotions he does not spend too much time over them. His prayers are short, but I cannot say whether they are to the point.

I have still to speak of the ryot in one relation, and that is in connection with the Government. In this Presidency four-fifths of the land is held directly from the State, and not through the zamindar. I will not frighten the readers of this *Review* by going into all the different kinds of land-tenures that are in existence

in this part of the country, neither shall I mention all the technical terms that are used. I shall satisfy myself by giving an account of the ryot who holds land direct from the State. It has only just been discovered by this individual, that he is not under the rule of the "Kumpani," but he does not quite comprehend yet under whose rule he is. He has a vague idea of a sovereign who lives far away, but where, is quite beyond his comprehension. The Queen is to him an abstraction, the Collector and his officials are realities. The ryot, we will suppose, lives on the land that his forefathers lived on for years past, and which he cultivates for the most part by means of his own family, only calling in labourers at the time of planting and reaping. Year after year he sows his rice, and plants it out on the same land, and the rent does not vary except in those years when the crops fail or are unusually good. The rent is paid in twice a year, and the money has to go through a number of hands before it reaches the Collector's cutcherry. In the first place there is the Kurnam, who has to write out the accounts, and the village Munsiff, who has to render an account of everything that is going on in the village. These two men are at the bottom rung of the official ladder, of which the Collector forms the top. The Kurman has not only to keep the accounts, but he has also to take charge of the rent, and after showing it to the village shroff, who examines it, he delivers it to the tehsildar of the talook. This is the general order of things, but in some districts the money is paid directly into the talook cutcherry, and not through the village officials, but this is not often the case. From the small cutcherry the money is passed on to the Collector's at head-quarters, there to go towards the expenses of the State. The time of paying the rent is one of weeping and wailing to the ryot. If his crops have not been so good as usual, he is hard pressed to pay the money, and if they have been good, he is anxious to keep as much of the money that he sold the grain for, as he can. Take Cowper's short poem on the "Tithe day," and put the village official in the place of the parson, and Ramaswamy instead of the English farmer, and you have some faint idea, though very faint, of a Hindu rent day. The ryot swears by all his gods that his crops have failed, and that he has no money to pay the rent with. It is all to no purpose. He is not argued with, but a knowing peon walks up to him and quietly drags the right sum of money to light from a small bundle in the end of his waist-cloth. Ramaswamy is not in the least disconcerted by this manœuvre, and only gives a grim smile, as much as to say, that the powers have been too much for him. He is, however, never discouraged, but tries the same thing over and over again. A short account of the *ryotwaree* system may be interesting:—

"The land is divided nearly everywhere into fields, and the tax on each field is fixed. During a stated period of each year cultivators may either obtain more fields, or give up any of those which they have. Remissions of the tax are granted in special cases, as for instance when there is a failure of irrigation from a supply of water, assumed to be sufficient when the tax was fixed. Charges are made in addition to the field-tax when water is supplied to irrigate a second crop in the same year on land taxed as growing only one crop, or when water is supplied to land which is taxed as not being so supplied.

"There is an annual settlement (*jummabundy*) at which are recorded alterations in the land held by each proprietor who has increased or diminished his property, remissions of taxes granted under the rules, and charges made in addition to the field-tax for irrigation.

"This system, which is known as the *ryotwaree* system, is the most familiar to the people, and it creates an elastic revenue which increases as increasing population and prosperity cause more land to be reclaimed and cultivated.

"The amount of revenue due under this system in the year beginning on the 1st July 1871 and ending on the 30th June 1872, was £3,631,407. Ten years before in 1861-62, it was £3,417,926. The expansion has been regular from year to year.

"It has been observed that the State has a right to fix the land-tax at its discretion, but in accordance with certain principles. In cases where Government deals direct with the ryots it is held that the tax can be altered from time to time, and (with a few exceptions) that its proper amount is half the value of the net produce of the land after the expenses of cultivation have been deducted from the gross produce. At the commencement of the British rule, the tax was determined in a rough and ready manner, which left many anomalies and inequalities to be afterwards rectified. The worst of these have been mended from time to time, and now there is a Survey Department which determines the exact area of villages and sub-divisions of villages (*Kandams*), and fields, and a Settlement Department which calculates the rate of assessment, or in other words, the tax which should be paid for each in accordance with the 'half-net' principle. The assessments thus revised are to be in force for thirty years. In the Godavery, Kistna, and part of Kurnool, an important deviation has been allowed from the 'half-net' principal in the case of land irrigated by channels led from the great anicuts across the Godavery, Kistna, and Tungabudra. The land-tax has been calculated as if the land were not irrigated, and the irrigation is charged for at a uniform rate per acre."

The produce of the land is the great topic of conversation in an Indian village throughout the year, and more especially about harvest time, for not only do the cultivators live by the produce of the soil, but there are a number of other people who receive their fees in part in grain, and consequently they are anxious that the crops should be good ones. These men are the priests who have a share for leading the devotion of the flock throughout the year, and the village schoolmaster, who teaches the children, and the barber, who polishes the chins and heads of the villagers, and the astrologer, who tells them what is to happen. The share of grain that these men receive at each house is small, but the aggregate is generally not to be despised. The squabbling over the division is terrible to contemplate; the ryot tries to cheat, and the receiver tries to get more than he has any right to, but generally they split the difference and hit upon the right quantity. The labourers in many districts are paid in kind and the quantity that they receive is not large, and when the harvest is over they are turned adrift to shift for themselves. The principle on which the ryots deal with their workmen is "heads I win, tails you lose," and the principle is anything but a good one so far as the labourer is concerned.

There is one character in the village whom we must not omit to mention, and that is the money-lender. This man plays a very important part in the economy of India, far more important than most people are apt to imagine. He shares the money gained from the produce of the land with the Government, and his share is generally a very large one. He is the great evil, though, at the same time, the great necessity of the village. This man is generally a Komatie and sometimes holds some petty post in the place. When a villager is in an impecunious state he betakes himself to this gentleman, and the work of getting money from him is very difficult. The work resembles a regular siege. Lines have to be opened and works erected, and every available force has to be brought to bear upon the fortress. At last the money-lender gives in and consents to lend money, but at a most exorbitant rate of interest. Nominally, it may be only twenty-four or thirty per cent. per annum, but in reality it is seventy-five or even one hundred. This is brought about by the way in which the interest is made up. It is reckoned on the whole sum for the whole time that the money has to be repaid. For instance, suppose a ryot wishes to borrow one hundred rupees, to be repaid by monthly instalments of Rs. 10, interest being at the rate of three per cent. per mensem or thirty-six per cent. per annum. In ten months the money would have to be paid back; the interest is reckoned on the whole sum for that time and it amounts to Rs. 30. This is deducted from the principal and the balance, Rs. 70, minus

the fee of the man who writes the bond, and the value of the stamp is put into the hands of the borrower. The instance I have given is one in which the borrower gets an easy bargain. But the ryot often fails to pay and then the *soucar* has him at his mercy, and the power he possesses he uses most unmercifully. He threatens to take the man before the Munsiff's Court, and if possible, he pronounces this threat just at the busiest time of the year, when it would be ruin, or next to it, to the ryot to dance attendance at the court, for such suits are not decided in a hurry in the Mofussil. Rather than submit to this, the ryot will agree to anything that the *soucar* tells him, and so it often happens that a small debt in the beginning is swelled into a very large one by continual renewals, and is in the end perhaps paid half-a-dozen times over. Many debts are handed down from father to son with the land, and every year, instead of getting smaller, they become larger and larger, for the *soucar* manages in some way or other to add something to the account. The ryot is, it must be acknowledged, a thriftless being, but one cannot much wonder at this, when we consider the load of debt by which he is pressed down, and has always to carry about with him as long as he lives. Debt to him is the "Old Man of the Sea;" and do what he will, he cannot get free from its power. On one side there is cunning and knowledge backed by law, and on the other is ignorance and fear. It is no wonder that the ryots are so miserably poor. It has been recommended that the Government should open a bank to lend money to the ryots on the security of their crops. If something of the kind could be done, it would do more good for the ryot than almost anything else. With a terrible load of debt upon him, all life and energy are crushed out of him. With a bank where he could borrow money and pay off his debts and begin life again, and with an education of some kind, the cultivator would be a different kind of being from what he is at present, and from what he is ever likely to be under the present order of things. The indebtedness of the owners of the land must soon be looked upon as the great problem of the day, and if our rulers wish to prevent the pauperisation of the ryots, steps should be taken at once to bring about a change. The Government and the laws are now playing into the hands of the money-lenders, and one is almost led to ask, on reading the Civil Procedure Code, whether some of these men were not called in to assist in its construction; so much does it favour their designs. Our Mofussil courts are demoralising and impoverishing the many for the sake of a few, and those few forming a class of men who pay little or nothing towards the expenses of the State.

There is another institution in this Presidency that is, I am sorry to find increasing in popularity, and that is the toddy-shop.

The Abkari system of Government appears to be training the people for drunkenness ; for, according to the last Administration Report of the Presidency, the duty, or in other words, the money paid for the permission to drink, amounted to nearly one-seventh of the whole land revenue. This fact shows that the people have got over their prejudices about drinking, and that they are very little behind the rest of the world in the matter of toping. It must be borne in mind that the large sum of money that is paid in this way, as I have said, is only for permission to drink, and not for the drink itself, so that the money paid for allaying the thirst of the people in this part of India must amount to nearly as much as the money paid for the land held by the cultivators. The toddy-shop is not a picturesque-looking place, and mine host does not try to set off his inn to the best advantage. It is generally a small building with a sign board placed over it, on which, we are told, that "Ramaswamy is licensed to sell toddy and arrack " to all who feel inclined to buy. A good many people think that some change ought to be made in the Abkari rules, and that if some necessary changes were made, the amount of drinking would be greatly reduced. I doubt this very much, for the people having once acquired a taste for drinking, will not very soon give it up. Some have advocated the increase of the duty on liquor, but if this were done, the people would have to spend more money than they do now, for as I have just said they are not likely to deny the pleasure of drinking. The Government might be more careful in granting licenses, for some of the toddy-shopkeepers are anything but good characters.

I must reserve what I have to say on the subject for a future article. The village population of Madras is a topic wide enough for many articles. There is a superabundance of material rather than a lack of it,

F. GOODALL.

ART. IV.—THE ELEMENTS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COGNITION.

BY ROBERT JARDINE, B.D., D.Sc.

PHILOSOPHY, as its history testifies, has passed through varied and apparently successive conditions of good and ill-fortune. Although at no period since the dawn of philosophic enquiry has the pursuit of this interesting and important study suffered a total eclipse, it has had its seasons of partial obscuration followed by seasons of re-illumination. Compared, for instance, with the neglect, not altogether unmingled with contempt, with which the subject was treated in Great Britain at the end of the last or at the commencement of the present century, metaphysics may be said now to be popular among the thinkers of the day, and to be attracting an unusual degree of attention. The number of books, certainly of very varied merit, treating of philosophical questions, and proceeding from different and rival schools of thought—some of them coming from men who are distinguished as students of Physical Science—which is annually published in England, is a satisfactory and encouraging indication of the keen interest which this subject now possesses and exerts. Sir William Hamilton in his *Discussions* signalizes the abject condition to which one branch of Philosophy—Logic—had fallen in the Universities of Oxford and Scotland, both of which were reputed to be nurseries of philosophical erudition, and possessed special endowments and means for promoting it. The first indication of this revival and one efficient agent in furthering it was the publication of Dr. Whately's *Treatise on Logic*. This Essay, as Sir William Hamilton elaborately and somewhat ruthlessly points out, is not free from inaccuracy as regards the history of logic, and is, moreover, encumbered with matter not falling strictly within its own province. But, in spite of his learned criticisms, it may be safely asserted that the book, besides being a very meritorious production, considering the then almost moribund condition of logical study at Oxford, and a very useful manual of the science at the present time, did immense service in awakening attention and stimulating enquiry. But the measure of severe and unsparing criticism which Sir William Hamilton dealt to his immediate predecessors has been meted out to his own philosophical speculations. Mr. J. S. Mill in his *Autobiography* expresses his great sense of disappointment when he began to examine minutely the views on mental philosophy and logic which Sir William Hamilton had propounded; and unquestionably he has succeeded in detecting, and, in his *Examination*, brought into clear light, sundry slips and

inconsistencies, not to say glaring mistakes, in the various theories to which the Scotch philosopher has given his deliberate sanction, and in those particular dogmas which are more especially associated with his name. Whatever be the ultimate issue as regards the establishment of that system of philosophical opinions which Sir William Hamilton inculcated, and with such profound learning illustrated and confirmed, (some of his doctrines highly esteemed by himself are rejected by all philosophers, his own disciples included,) yet it will scarcely be doubted, that among all those leaders of thought who have exercised a quickening and moulding influence upon the course of philosophic speculation in the present generation, the foremost place must be assigned to Sir William Hamilton.

In this general revival of the study of philosophy, it is scarcely a matter of remark that the inherent importance of mental science and its great value as a disciplinary education of the intellectual powers should from the first have been recognized by the Governing Body of the Calcutta University. The subject has always been an integral element of the Higher Examinations. But, as in all similar institutions, the text-books have been changed from time to time. Works which were supposed to have become antiquated, or to be scarcely abreast of modern enquiry or knowledge, or not sufficiently scientific in their method of treatment, have been replaced by others deemed more suitable. Bearing in mind the irreconcilable differences which exist with regard to some of the fundamental questions with which philosophy is conversant, it could not be expected that, however carefully the text-book might be selected, it would secure the suffrages of all parties. Yet, in spite of this radical disagreement of opinion and of the apparent impossibility of the subject being eclectically handled, there has been a pretty general concord among those who have interest and experience in the education of this country, that philosophy ought to be comprised in the subjects of at least the examinations for degrees. For many years, Dr. Abercrombie's elementary *Treatise on the Intellectual Powers* was the sole text-book for the Intermediate or First Arts Examination; but, very early, murmurs of dissatisfaction were heard, and after some agitation and full discussion, the University sanctioned, as an alternative, Dr. Reid's "*Inquiry into the Human Mind.*" There could not be much difference of opinion as to the inadequacy and faultiness of Dr. Abercrombie's work, regarded as a scientific treatise on psychology. But this, though a point of first importance, was not the only one to which, in making choice of a suitable text-book for the First Arts Examination, attention had to be directed. It being apparently assumed that mental science in some form or other must be a constituent part of this University Examination, it is obvious that the conditions of choice

became somewhat peculiar and difficult of fulfilment. That the selection of a suitable text-book for this examination was beset with difficulties is, we think, clear from the fact of Dr. Reid's *Enquiry* having been ultimately chosen as an alternative. This treatise is the earliest of that philosopher's productions, and exhibits his speculations in their immature and undeveloped form. It is marked by much vigorous writing and forcible, though often inapposite, illustration. His appreciation of the theories he attempts to combat was not always accurate, and consequently his attempted refutations, being directed to the wrong points, are often useless. But the submission of evidence in proof of the defectiveness and insufficiency of Dr. Reid's *Enquiry* as a text-book of psychology is superfluous. The fact is universally admitted. What is needed is a work which has some pretensions to scientific accuracy, which embodies the results of modern research, which illustrates and applies modern analytic methods of investigation, and yet is so simple in style, so elementary in matter, that it will not be beyond the mental grasp of University students who are preparing for the Intermediate Examination. The combination of these somewhat conflicting conditions presents a great, and, many are disposed to think, an insurmountable difficulty. When fairly realized, it will go far to account for the fact that the University, although numerous works on psychology have been published within the last ten or fifteen years, had, after casting about for a suitable text-book, to adopt Dr. Reid's *Enquiry*, which was published so long ago as A.D. 1797.

The Rev. Dr. Jardine, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta, as a learned student of philosophy and as an experienced teacher of it, has long and painfully realized the unsatisfactoriness of Dr. Abercrombie's and Dr. Reid's Treatises as text-books on Psychology, and, not finding any existent work that would exactly meet the requirements of the case, has prepared one himself.

"*The Elements of the Psychology of Cognition*" does not profess, as the author modestly alleges, to be more than an introduction to the science, but, though written under pressure of limited time, embodies the results of several years careful thinking on the subject, and practical experience as a teacher of it. Indications of the haste with which finally the treatise was written may be detected here and there, and these, under the circumstances of its publication, may be easily excused. Putting aside these minor blemishes, Dr. Jardine's treatise is an excellent work, simple and lucid in its style, logically methodical in its arrangement, and exhibiting, without any display, almost on every page, accurate learning and clear vigorous thought.

The author, when proposing to the Syndicate of the Calcutta

University to prepare this treatise, characterised, with unadorned plainness of language, the faults and defects of the present text-books; and it cannot be denied that in this work he has to the full redeemed the pledge, which by making these charges he impliedly gave, *viz.*, that his projected treatise, which he hoped, would be substituted in their place, should not be amenable to such accusations. It would be a procedure like damning with faint praise to assert that the description which he gives of Dr. Abercrombie's work does not apply to the "*Psychology of Cognition*." "Abercrombie's work on the mental and moral powers" is so exceedingly faulty and defective, that it is a disgrace to any "University to have it upon the list of its text-books. The compiler of it shows a gross ignorance of well-known philosophical theories; his book contains none of the more recent results of enquiry; many of his illustrations are more fitted for the nursery than the college class-room." Nor is there any likelihood that the charges which he lays against Dr. Reid will be advanced against him. "Reid did not understand the theories of some of the philosophers whom he criticises. Consequently, in order that the subject may be taught, it is always necessary to point out Reid's errors, and any experienced teacher knows that this correction of the author's misunderstandings is the cause of great confusion in the student's mind. Reid's own doctrines are now antiquated and many of them erroneous; even those who study psychology from his stand-point have in very important respects modified his doctrines."* But, while the superiority of this treatise in scientific accuracy satisfies most completely one of the conditions of a suitable text-book on this subject for the First Arts Examination, there is room for doubt whether this very excellence has not precluded it, at least to a great extent, from satisfying the other condition of facility of comprehension. In simple justice to the author it must be admitted that the language of the treatise is as simple as possible, that the style is straightforward plain and clear, and that the imperative and difficult task of simplifying, without sacrifice of thoroughness and accurate research, what, in itself is necessarily an abstract dry and abstruse subject, has been fully realized and very successfully performed. But, whether it be from the creditable ambition of producing a worthy book, or whether it be that psychology altogether, treated in any scientific way in however simple style, does not fit the mental calibre of University students, in a comparatively early period of their education, there will be little doubt that the Professors of Philosophy in Government or other Colleges, will rise from the perusal of Dr. Jardine's treatise with

* Calcutta University Minutes, 1873-74, p. 101.

the conviction that he has succeeded, as he proposed, "in preparing a book which would be abreast of the present state of the science," but he has not been equally successful in making it "at the same time not too difficult for the student's *comprehension*."* Nothing, we suppose, could be more remote from his intention, but we fear that, as matter of fact, he has put into the hands of those University reformers who advocate the excision of psychology, in any form or shape, from the scheme of the First Arts Examination, a very cogent argument in proof of the soundness of their views.

The treatise may be conveniently divided into three parts, which discuss, in synthetical order, the successive stages of development of the intellect, and the various modes in which our knowledge is acquired and elaborated. It thus contains an explanation of the elements and process of Perception, of the nature of Representation, including the association of ideas, memory and imagination, and of Thought Proper, that is, the elaboration of the materials gained by these introductory operations into general notions, judgments and inferences. The work is prefaced by an introductory chapter explaining the method of enquiry which must be followed and giving a critical estimate of the different values of the knowledge derivable from these available sources. To the exposition of his own theory of perception, the author has appended in a subsidiary chapter a valuable discriminative account of the different theories of perception which have been propounded by the principal and leading philosophers from the time of Des Cartes. After a brief luminous sketch of the two distinct stand-points from which the process of perception may be examined, the author proceeds to give a well-digested carefully and accurately estimated description of the salient features of the opinions of each philosopher mentioned. The chapter is a favourable specimen of the author's ability to seize the central and dominant characteristics of each system of opinion under review, and of exhibiting in logical and genetic sequence the various theories of perception which are developed from them. Where the whole is so good, it is not easy to single out any one portion, but attention may be drawn to the remarks on Hume's speculations, not only because his opinions on perception may be rightly said to constitute an epoch in the historical course of philosophical enquiry, but also because the author has introduced a method of illustrating the nature and possible solutions of philosophical problems, which, if not quite novel, is exceedingly rare in books of this character. He has devised an ingenious diagram in which the manifold factors, whose

* Calcutta University Minutes, 1873-74, p. 103.

various combinations have been conjectured to produce perception, are clearly exhibited in their relations to each other and to the complex result. The primary object of this ingenious diagram is to throw light upon the representative theory of perception in its various modifications, and with the author's lucid explanations it serves that purpose admirably. The toilsome journey which our University students have to make over the dreary waste of Sir William Hamilton's persistent attack upon what he designates the cosmothetic idealism of Dr. Brown, would be considerably lightened and materially shortened, if that eminent philosopher had condescended from the heights of professorial rhetoric, and had availed himself of some such effective expedient as this for illuminating the distinction between the "finer" and "cruder" forms of the representative hypothesis. But it appears to us that this ingenious diagram may be just as easily applied to illustrate other knotty points in psychological questions, and we are not sure at this moment that we shall not find it a very convenient engine of attack on some of the author's own theories with which we may not be so fortunate as to agree.

The *Psychology of the Phenomena of Cognition* professes to give a scientific analysis of knowledge into its ultimate elements, and an adequate explanation of its genesis and development. Of the three sources whence the materials for the achievement of this two-fold-purpose are derived,—the results of mental activity, physiology and consciousness,—the first may, as regards the purposes of this review, be passed over. However serviceable in illustrating the complexities of mental states in the higher departments of cognition, it is comparatively of small utility in the earlier stages of the enquiry. But the two latter claim a more detailed notice. There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the mutual relations of the sciences of physiology and psychology and as to the limits of their respective spheres. On one side, psychology is branded as an usurper, as putting forward pretensions, which are simply fictitious and visionary, to take rank as a science, while in truth all scientific knowledge of intellectual and moral phenomena is secured by physiological experiment and observation. It is the proper function of the brain, it is alleged, to produce mental phenomena as, for instance, it is the special function of the liver to secrete bile. On the other side, it has been no less confidently alleged that the mind and the body are two distinct independent substances mysteriously united in human nature, but the connection is only one of juxta-position, not of causality. It is idle, therefore, it is argued, to suppose that any light can be thrown upon the secrets of mental states and operations by any examination, however minute, of the machinery of the body. The author repudiates both these extreme and conflicting

hypotheses. The former is rejected for the obvious and conclusive reasons that mental and material phenomena are dissimilar in kind, and that while material phenomena are recognized by sense, mental are directly perceived by consciousness only. The scalpel of the anatomist and the microscope of the physiologist, or, indeed, any method of external observation, however complete and perfected, will not disclose the existence or give any information as to the nature, of a sensation or perception, or of any mental fact whatever. Therefore, although it is not pretended that an intimate acquaintance with the nervous system may not be helpful to the study of the mind in some subordinate degree, there seems to be little or no warrant for the assumed identity of the relation of the brain and mental phenomena, and those of physical organs and their functions. The author's remarks on the latter hypothesis show with what firm grasp he has seized the exact object-matter of psychological enquiry, and with what fairness he is prepared to appreciate any fact which has any material bearing upon the subject in hand. "In the first place, the student of psychology has nothing to do with the so-called *substances* of mind or matter; he has only to study the phenomena, the sensations and qualities which consciousness and perception make known to him. And, again, it is unscientific to advance to the study of the mind with certain pre-formed and crude notions regarding its nature, its independence of matter, and other things. As far as our experience goes, the mind is most intimately connected with our physical organism, and it appears to be the duty of the psychologist to take into account every fact bearing upon his subject, admitted to exist, and learn as much from it as possible. Moreover, it lies within his sphere to study only those phenomena which manifest themselves in our present conditions of existence, and not to speculate or make assertions regarding what might be under other conditions."* It will not be questioned that we are not justified in assuming anything beforehand, as to the mode of connection of mental and material phenomena in the human organism, but it may be remarked further that, if there are facts which indicate that "brain-change" is the invariable physical antecedent of *some* mental action, we must be on our guard against unwarrantably extending this conclusion beyond the limits of the data upon which it is based. Unquestionably, the actions of the bodily organs and the operations of the mind have a causal relation to each other. The emotions have a powerful effect upon the organism, and may be regarded in what Mr. Bain calls their "physical side;" the energy in action of the mind is again dependent upon material con-

ditions. These facts lie on the surface. But it is obviously illegitimate to infer that because some mental action may be allowed to be the result of the operation of the physiological mechanism, *every* mental phenomenon has a physical antecedent, and that *all* mental activity is virtually *automatic*. The most important and higher intellectual activities and the nobler emotions are, as far as we can observe, not preceded or conditioned by changes in the organism, and there does exist in the mind a self-activity and power of directing the thoughts and regulating the motive force of the feelings; and consequently till more evidence is exhibited than has as yet been adduced, we are justified in rejecting this materialistic hypothesis. "There is an entity wherein man's nobility essentially consists, which does not depend for its existence on any play of physical or vital forces, but which makes these forces subservient to its determinations."*

The study of consciousness will remain by far the chief and most fruitful method of acquiring psychological knowledge. It is the only method available for becoming directly acquainted with the object-matter of psychology. But the investigation of the contents of consciousness and the analysis of the facts of consciousness into their ultimate elements is an operation, interesting, no doubt, to persons of a metaphysical turn of mind, but of great delicacy and difficulty. Consciousness is the tribunal to which philosophers of all shades of opinion appeal for confirmation of their views; and its verdict, if it can only be ascertained in its uncontaminated originality, is universally admitted to be final on all questions coming within its jurisdiction.

"Psychology," says Sir William Hamilton, "is a developed consciousness. It is a scientific evolution of the facts of which consciousness is the revelation and guarantee." Mr. J. S. Mill, adopting simpler language, expresses precisely the same sentiment: "All theories of the human mind profess to be interpretations of consciousness: the conclusions of all of them are supposed to rest on that ultimate evidence, either immediately or remotely."† But, unfortunately, not only are there wide diversities of opinion as to what the sentence is which consciousness, when appealed to, pronounces, but also, in spite of this external agreement, we find when we descend to particulars, there is very far from being unanimity among philosophers as to what the court of consciousness is, and where it is to be found, to which the final appeal is to be made. Sir William Hamilton appeals with confidence to the verdict of consciousness as to the immediacy of a perception of material qualities, but Mr. J. S. Mill disputes the competency of *that* consciousness

* Carpenter's *Mental Physiology*, p. 27.

† Hamilton's *Discussions*, p. 86. Mill's *Examination*, p. 137.

to give any decision upon the question, and asserts that the matter in dispute could only be finally and satisfactorily decided by the testimony of the first consciousness in any infant, if, somehow, we could possess ourselves of it. Here, we see, there are different consciousnesses, and the authority of one of them is impugned. In truth, the word consciousness is used in a very wide range of meaning and in various applications. It is the most extensively used and the best abused term in the whole vocabulary of mental philosophy, and has been a source of endless confusion. Though it plays such an important part in the psychology of Sir William Hamilton, and he is reputed to be *facile princeps* as an expositor of consciousness, yet one of the not least successful chapters of Mr. Mill's elaborate examination is occupied in tracing out and bringing together the various and inconsistent explanations which that philosopher gives of consciousness. For instance, he shows that while engaged in vigorously exposing what he conceives to be an erroneous dogma of Dr. Reid, Sir William Hamilton, though quite at variance with his own matured and carefully expressed opinions in other parts of the same work, has extended the range of consciousness so as to include objects of the external world. Consciousness of a mental operation involves consciousness of the object of the operation, if we are conscious of a perception of the inkstand lying before us, our consciousness must comprehend within its sphere the object of the perception, *viz.*, the inkstand. Now this extension of the meaning of consciousness, viewed as a philosophical technical term, to cover the objects of *acquired* perceptions is a novelty, and though a far-fetched and fanciful vindication of such application is attempted by Sir William Hamilton, the success of the attempt is more than doubtful, and the application itself is quietly abandoned when he comes to expound his doctrine of perception of distant objects. Dr. Jardine certainly does not follow the eminent Scotch philosopher in this extension of the sphere of consciousness to external objects. In an early part of his work he provides us with a definition of this term which expressly disallows it. "Consciousness is the power which every individual possesses of becoming aware of the various feelings and other phenomena which are experienced in his mind."* In estimating the nature and value of the materials procurable by an examination of consciousness, the author passes some brief critical remarks on the difficulty and importance of mental analysis, but there is not given anywhere any explanation of consciousness in general. Now, within the limits of the definition of consciousness given, there are various questions of great importance, having a close bearing on some of the subjects handled in the following

chapters, which might, we think, with advantage have been discussed in this introductory portion of the work. Had the author devoted a brief introductory chapter to the exposition of consciousness in general, its different degrees of intensity, its varying range of application, its essential metaphysical elements, he would have materially assisted himself in his subsequent explication of particular modes of consciousness, and would have made it much easier for the junior student to comprehend the rather peculiar nature of mental analysis, and of the elements into which mental acts and states by that analysis are resolved. His statements on the exceeding delicacy and difficulty of reflective analysis, and yet its indispensableness in untwining the tangled tissue of psychical acts, are lucid and forcible; but there is no intimation given of a convenient and useful division of consciousness, into the ordinary consciousness, which is the universal endowment of the human race, and philosophical consciousness, that is, consciousness intensified by an act of will and directed inwards upon the manifestations of the mind itself, which is usually termed reflection. It is true the difference is one of degree only, and no clear line of demarcation can be drawn between them; yet the distinction between consciousness and reflection is well established and useful. Some allusion to this distinction is wanted to complete his remarks on mental analysis.

"As the chief object of psychology is to ascertain the simple and original elements of our complex mental phenomena, and the laws in accordance with which these elements combine and transform themselves into our matured mental activities, the first part of the method of psychology must be analytic. Our first endeavour must be to determine those mental actions which being of the simplest and most elementary kind, enter as constituent elements into the complex operations which consciousness reveals." After stating that the truth of the system depends upon the thoroughness and accuracy of this analysis, it is rather puzzling to read the following sentence: "The analysis of mental phenomena cannot, as a rule, be effected by simple introspection; and recourse must be had to a variety of observations and experiments suggested to the psychologist by the methods so successfully employed in physical science." If by "simple" introspection is meant the mental analysis, the importance of which he has been proving, then there is an inconsistency not easily accounted for. If he means an otiose uncritical recognition of mental states, then it is not only true, but something like a truism, and we should expect that the remark was introduced to set off in clearer light by the contrast, the nice discrimination and earnest attention required in the exercise of the reflective consciousness. But the remark leads to something very different.

We discern no justifying occasion for reference to the variety of observations and experiments of physical science in the tenor of the previous remarks, nor is any further light thrown upon the obscurity of the remark by any further explanation or illustration in this passage. It is only when we have read about twenty pages further on we come to know that the author is alluding to certain experiments which he describes, which show that "the resolution of certain complex states of consciousness, (*viz.*, sensations of sound and sight) cannot be effected by consciousness alone, but by applying the methods of physical science to the physical conditions of these states of consciousness."* The "considerable haste," with which the work was necessarily composed, may account for the needless reference to this unpsychological method of analysis in this passage, and to the omission of all needful explanation by foot-note of what is alluded to.

Still continuing our remarks on the desideratum of a brief introductory chapter on consciousness in general, we may observe that some illustrative explanation of the complexity of every, however apparently simple, state of consciousness, and of the nature and presence of the metaphysical elements, not separable from the mental state, but by the exercise of reflection discernible in it, would have been very helpful in facilitating the student's comprehension of the author's analytical exposition of the process of sense-perception. Consciousness viewed as an object, for instance, is complex, containing various elements which stand in definite relations to each other and to the conscious subject, all of which are capable of being perceived in reflection, though not all will be equally prominent at the same time. Some one of these may for the time seem to draw the whole attention to itself, and the others may retire into the background. The materials for this analysis are potentially present, and it is for the psychologist, by careful discriminative reflection, to drag them from their comparative obscurity and bring them into clear light. It is superfluous to remark that Dr. Jardine is familiar with these peculiar operations and products of psychological analysis. It is implied in almost every page of his work, but not the less is an express exposition, however brief, of its leading features desirable.

We have seen that Dr. Jardine restricts the application of the term consciousness to the knowledge which every individual has of his manifold mental states and operations, and we have no intention of disputing this restriction. But it is open to us to point out that within these limits the term is still legitimately employed in varying degrees of latitude, and an explicit discrimi-

nation of these wider and narrower applications of the term in different points of view, prior to his plunging into the thicket of the problem of sense-perception, through which with such delicate care he threads his way, would have rendered his course much easier, and have precluded the necessity of those occasional foot-notes and references to forthcoming explanations which, as they stand, look very much like after-thoughts.

Those dear distinctions, expressed by the correlative terms *subject* and *object*, *ego* and *non-ego*, and other unfamiliar words of the same character, which are so plentifully and, we suppose, unavoidably strewn over the pages of all modern treatises on psychology, would then, in their various spheres of mutual exclusion, have become intelligible to the student beforehand, and he would only have to learn to apply these terms with intelligence and discrimination when studying the author's exposition of special modes of consciousness in presentation and representation. We may illustrate our meaning by referring again to Mr. Mill's criticism on Sir W. Hamilton's novel and illegitimate extension of the term consciousness so as to include within its sphere objects of the external world. In one passage in his *Lectures* Sir W. Hamilton, as we have seen, asserts that the objects of acquired perception, *e.g.*, the inkstand lying before us, is comprised within the sphere of consciousness. Mr. Mill, after quoting the passage, makes the following remark: "In being conscious of those of our mental operations which regard external objects, we are, according to Sir W. Hamilton, conscious of the objects. Consciousness, therefore, is not solely of the *ego* and its modifications, but also of the *non-ego*."* According to Dr. Jardine, "those phenomena are called mental which manifest themselves in consciousness," and "consciousness is the power by which every individual possesses of becoming aware of the various feelings and other phenomena which are experienced in his mind." Now, we hardly suppose he would describe an inkstand as a mental phenomenon, and hence we might easily conclude that, as he would disallow the comprehension of the inkstand within the sphere of consciousness, he would also disallow a consciousness of the *non-ego*. But this would be a mistake. Using scientific language, he would, we apprehend, deny, with Mr. Mill and philosophers generally, a consciousness of external objects, and assert with him that consciousness is of the *ego* and its modifications; but still, none the less, does he vindicate to consciousness a cognizance of the *non-ego*. The reconciliation of this apparent discrepancy lies in the fact that these correlatives, *ego* and *non-ego*, are employed, in different points of view, in varying breadth of signification. The consciousness contemplated as the soul animating

* Mill's *Examination*, p. 139.

the whole organism stands over against the world of extra-organic or external objects, as the *ego* opposed to the *non-ego*, and in this legitimate application of the term consciousness, it may be truly said that we are conscious of the *ego* and its modifications, and not of the *non-ego*. But in this consciousness viewed as ranging over the organism, inner differences are discovered by the operation of reflection. It is by the exercise of a higher degree of consciousness energized by earnest attention, that the bodily organism itself is regarded as belonging to the sphere of the *non-ego* and the term *ego* is then applied, in contradistinction to it, to the mind alone. Now, in this narrower application of the term, Dr. Jardine, as we understand him, does assert a consciousness of the *non-ego*, when by reflection, sensations of which we are conscious, and which are organic affections as well as mental phenomena, are discerned as objects distinguished, but not divided, from the conscious soul.

As we have purposed giving merely an illustration of the kind of questions which we think demand some notice and discussion, there is no need of carrying this analysis further into the inner circle of purely psychical phenomena, within which also the distinction of the *ego* and *non-ego*, already alluded to, may be perceived. It is, however, obvious that the unqualified general statement, that consciousness is of the *ego* and its modifications, may sometimes mislead, and that not unfrequently the query is needed,—*which* of the various *egos* and *non-egos*, with which psychology is conversant, is referred to? Below a general verbal coincidence, there may lurk a divergence of doctrine which is practically immeasurable.

The same apparent confusion, explicable in the same way, obtains in the use of two other correlative terms—*subject* and *object*. These terms point to a radical and ultimate distinction, which is discernible in every form of mental phenomena so far as they are within the domain of consciousness. They are, therefore, indispensable terms in any scientific treatise on psychology, but, mainly owing to the variety of their application, they are a source of considerable perplexity to the youthful aspirant to metaphysical learning. For like the parallel term *ego*, the term, *subject* may in different points of view be subjective and objective. These latter words, moreover, have travelled out of the region of mental science, and have fallen into the hands of popular writers on other subjects than philosophy; this, however is a doubtful advantage. Like coin which has been long current and has passed through many hands, the distinct and sharp outlines of the image pressed upon them have become somewhat blurred and confused. They were originally like Siamese twins, to whom severance would be death, but "subjectivity" seems to have dissolved all connexion

with an "objective," and to maintain a vigorous independent existence of its own.

Sensations, being cognized by consciousness as experienced by the sentient soul are, as Dr. Jardine says, "subjective."* This is the first time, as far as we have observed, that this word is introduced to our notice in the treatise and, although an eminently serviceable term, it is also ambiguous. The author, very prudently, guards himself from being misunderstood by appending an explanatory foot-note. "The term *subjective* is here used in a general sense to distinguish what is organic from what is extra-organic. We shall see hereafter that there is an objectivity in this subjective."† The signification of the term is here determined and explained by its being set over against all objects which are outside of the material organism. But as the subjective sensations possess also an objective aspect, it would have helped to clear up the mystery of "an objectivity in a subjective," if, prior to his application of these terms in the exposition of sense-perception, he had unfolded in a simple way their general signification and their variety of application, according to the range of the object-matter upon which reflection is exercised. And all this, we conceive, would naturally and properly have formed a place in a general survey of consciousness, pointing out its different legitimate meanings in the science of psychology, its universal essential elements, and explaining, in an illustrative manner, the process and results of mental analysis. The distinctness and vigour of Dr. Jardine's thinking, the unaffected simplicity of his style and the masterly way in which he handles many of the most critical questions which demand a decision in a treatise on the psychology of cognition, are ample evidence, that, should he agree with this suggestion, he could augment the usefulness of his work, by enriching it, in a second edition, with an exposition of consciousness, as a preliminary to his detailed investigation of one mode of it.

More effort has been expended upon the explanation of the process of sense-perception than upon any other operation of the human mind. It is, in its rudimentary elements, the first that comes into exercise, and it is that, which, in some or other of its modes, never ceases, during life, to be active. To most people its processes seem to be as easy of comprehension and explanation as the performance of them seems simple. But any serious and earnest attempt at explanation soon brings to light strange and unimagined difficulties, and the unraveling of the tangled skein is then perforce admitted to be an operation of critical delicacy, and perhaps of doubtful success.

The facility and apparent simplicity of perception in the matured

* p. 20.

† p. 20 n.

condition of the mind is no guarantee, and but very slight evidence, that it is not to a great extent an acquired power, and the product of elements which originally are very disproportionate and different to the developed and compound result. The marvellous character of the change that has taken place in the course of this acquisition is apparent when we place side by side a description of the sensations, out of which, as is admitted on all hands, the products of perceptions are evolved, and a description of the amount and variety of knowledge, which the organ of vision, for instance, in our adult condition conveys to us.

In that storehouse of oriental imagination, the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, there is, unless our memory plays us false, a wonderful story of the evolution of a stupendous *jinn* or demon from a small box which a fisherman by chance had dragged up from the depths of the sea and had the curiosity to open. The fisherman, as the story runs, terrified at the sight of this colossal spectre, ingeniously suggested to the demon, that he should at once *involve* himself back into his tiny case, just to show that he had grown to such mighty proportions from such insignificant beginnings. The thing was done.

Now this *jinn*, as it emerges from the box, may be compared to sensations as they pass out of the dim unknown into consciousness, and the portentous image may represent the complete perceptions, both acts and products, which are developed from these sensations. The problem of psychology is to explain this development and justify the natural beliefs and conceptions which matured perceptions invariably carry with them. There is a wide, and we fear, irreconcilable difference in systems of philosophy as to the nature and contents of these sensations as they emerge into consciousness, and this difference expands into a gulf which cannot be bridged over, as to the external existence of the objects of these natural beliefs; but rival systems of philosophy are at one in representing the prodigiousness of the contrast between the rudimentary sensations and their matured products.

We doubt the possibility of composing a treatise on psychology of any worth or merit on an eclectic system, and it is no matter of surprise or blame that Dr. Jardine does take a side in the great controversy between the intuitive and associational schools of philosophy. But it is one, and not the least of the special merits of the work, that the author, while expressing with quiet assured firmness his own opinion on those conflicting questions, which lie at the bottom of the discussion, does, on every occasion as far as we have observed, state the side of his opponents with judicial fairness. The facts and arguments advanced by both parties are marshalled in methodical order, and the determining reasons of his own conclusion on the matters in dispute are adduced and, frequently

with a quiet remark expressive of his own belief, often inserted as an *obiter dictum*, the student is left to form his own opinion. With the very best intentions of being fair, an advocate of one system of philosophy not unfrequently fails in representing an opposing system as it appears to its adherents. Very few are able to strip themselves of pre-conceived notions and unconscious prejudices, and take up exactly the point of view of an opponent. No one, we think, whatever be his own views on the philosophical controversies which are now being somewhat eagerly discussed, can read the *Psychology of Cognition* without being convinced of the author's sincere attempts to be fair, and giving him great credit for the success of his attempts.

All psychology of cognition must, as we have seen, begin with an examination of sensations; and it is in the method of explaining the character and contents of these elementary mental phenomena, that the indications of the great rift in philosophical systems are discerned. It is here that the closest analytical scrutiny is needed. Therefore the author, after, by way of introduction, giving an illustration of the complex nature and object of perceptions, and showing that they are ultimately resolvable into sensations, proceeds to an investigation of these sensations, discussing their nature, their relations to one another, and to consciousness in which they are known. But sensation, which is a mental phenomenon, must be distinguished from that excitement of the nervous system which is its indispensable condition. Consciousness reveals to us directly the presence and the special quality of a sensation, but does not also make us cognizant of these requisite physical conditions, any more than it informs us of the undulations of the air and ether which, as scientific men assure us, are the essential conditions of sound and sight. These matters belong to the sciences of physiology, acoustics, and optics, which give us an explanation of the physical conditions or causes of sensations, and therefore are not to be altogether ignored by psychological writers; but they give us no explanation whatever of sensations themselves. It is learnt indirectly that a certain state of the nervous organism is essential to the existence of a sensation, but the sensation itself, its nature, quality, and elements, is known only by consciousness. Dr. Jardine, therefore, wisely, as we think, declines giving any detailed account of the nervous system, and does not clothe his ideas in that physiological phraseology which figures so largely in Mr. Bain's psychological works. The field of investigation borders closely upon physiology on one side and metaphysics proper on the other; Dr. Jardine steers clear of both.

We annex below a tabular classification of the varieties of sensation of which we are conscious, in many respects similar to the elaborate enumeration given by Mr. Bain:—

I.—Of Organic Life	{	1.—Connected with the muscles, bones, tendons, &c.		
		2.—Connected with the nervous system.		
		3.—Connected with the circulation and nutrition.		
		4.—Connected with the general state of the organs, as heat, &c.		
		5.—Connected with the respiration.		
		6.—Connected with the digestion.		
II.—Of Intellectual Life.	{	1.—Organico-Intellectual	{	a Smell.
				b Taste.
				c Touch.
		2.—Intellectual		d Hearing.
		...		e Sight.

Dr. Jardine disposes of the first class of sensations, *viz.*, "those of organic life" very summarily. Those physiological explanations of this class of sensations which occupy so large a space in Mr. Bain's semi-psychological *"Treatise on the Intellect"* are here put out of court. By a general, though, of course, not absolute, division, they are adjudged to be outside the domain of a psychology of *cognition*. "The general characteristics of these sensations are that they arise in the organism itself as the concomitants of vital operations, and that they are accompaniments, results, or stimulants of action, not elements of knowledge."*

It is simply the fear of prolonging this notice to an unconscionable length and wearying the patience of our readers that prevents our commenting on Dr. Jardine's admirably lucid chapter on the sensations of the definite organs, and the possibility of their being analysed into other elements, conscious or unconscious.

His chapter, however, on the revival and association of sensations we confess ourselves wholly unable to follow, and we think it is inconsistent with the various remarks on the nature of sensation which are scattered through his exposition of the theory of perception. The absence of an index to the book, not at all compensated by the very brief table of contents, is a very serious defect, which may be accounted for and excused by the circumstances in which the work was composed, but still none the less to be deplored. A not less grave defect is the absence of a vocabulary, or precise definitions of the somewhat numerous technical terms which are so frequently introduced. The difficulty we experience in accepting his views on the revival and association of sensations may have arisen from Dr. Jardine's peculiar and unexplained use of the term sensation. Every writer has a perfect right to affix his own meaning to the terms he uses, provided he adheres

consistently to his use and gives the reader fair warning. But in this case we are precluded from resorting to this method of surmounting the difficulty by the fact that the author does adopt substantially that view of sensation as implicating the organism and as being in all its forms an organic affection as well as an affection of the sentient soul, which is sanctioned by Sir W. Hamilton and all modern intuitivists. He says, "although sensations are objects of consciousness, they are also inseparably connected with our physical organism."*

We have been accustomed to regard sensations as revealed in consciousness as complex mental states, containing elements which, though not really separable, may be viewed apart, and possessing that real though partial truth which belongs to all abstractions. One of these elements, termed sensation proper, belongs to the department of feeling, and one, termed perception proper, belongs to the department of intellect. Such a thing as sensation proper, so far as it is within the purview of consciousness, apart from actual or possible perception, has only ideal existence, and, though subjective, in the sense already explained as belonging to the soul, belongs to the soul as animating the material organism. These elements of the state of consciousness in their various relations may not be recognized at all, and certainly may not be discriminated in the state of consciousness, at the time; but the materials for the discrimination are there, and may be discerned by a subsequent reflective act and recognized as having been present. Without endorsing the affectedly mathematical language of Sir W. Hamilton on this point, the truth is that both these elements of feeling and intellect are present in varying degrees and tend each to exclude the other, without altogether excluding it. Each element will not be equally prominent and distinct, but whichever be for the time the more prominent, the other also will exist in a nascent form. We are not aware that Dr. Jardine would not coincide with these rather common-place remarks. We rather think he would at once virtually endorse them. He allows that sensations are really felt within our own bodies, are "organic." It is true, he also alleges, that sensations are "purely mental." But he guards himself from being understood in the obvious sense of mental, as contra-distinguished from material, by adding in a footnote that purely mental means here, "knowable by no other instrument except consciousness." "There is an objective, that is, non-mental element made known by sensation." It is not clear whether in this word "non-mental" we have a contradictory of the "purely mental," that is, an element knowable by some other instrument than consciousness, or we have an equivalent for material.

The former interpretation does not seem probable; the latter is more in accordance with the usual meanings of the terms mental and non-mental, and refers apparently to that conscious implication of the organism in sensation which is all-important in the development of the author's theory of perception.

Now this conscious connexion with the organism is the *differentia* of sensation, which marks it off from another class of feelings termed emotions. Both are subjective, both are pleasurable or painful, or, to adopt Mr. Bain's division, neutral, but one is a consciously *organic* feeling; the other not. Dr. Jardine states: "In the earliest or simplest stage of knowledge it is, perhaps, difficult to say whether the phenomenon should be classed as a feeling or cognition."* But here, as by the terms of the question, we are considering sensations as *revealed in consciousness*, for "the essential character of a sensation is that it is felt and felt consciously," we have little doubt that the mental states of which sensations form a constituent part may be classed with both. The sensational element is feeling, with this speciality that it is at once both mental and corporeal; the intellectual element is cognition. Whether this intellectual element is to be termed perception, original perception or perception proper is a question of terminology, and we observe that Dr. Jardine systematically reserves the term perception to the acquired power and its acts, and adduces reason for this restriction.† Most probably, he would agree with Mr. H. Spencer in asserting that all perceptions are acquired perceptions. There is no objection to this employment of the term. But in consistency he cannot deny the presence of an intellectual element in conscious sensation which, however rudimentary, is of the *nature* of perception, if it is not so designated. The fact of an original perceptive element is implied in his speaking of perception being "more or less complete," according as more or less of the senses have been exercised and educated. The necessity of admitting the same fact follows from his remarks on the power of localizing sensations. It is not questioned that the acquisition of this power, when exercised with precision and exactness, is largely dependent on experience, but the rudimentary germ of the power must have previously existed or it could never, in any *natural* sense of the term education, be educated at all. In truth the distinctions between sensation proper and perception proper laid down by Sir W. Hamilton, are virtually and impliedly accepted by Dr. Jardine, and had he in the course of his exposition explicitly stated these elements of sense-perception in their different functions, relations and characters, he would, we think, have been

* Page 2.

† Page 140.

preserved from falling into a confusion of thought, between *sensations* which require as the condition of their existence a certain state of the organism, and which are, as known to consciousness, mental and organic affections, and the special operations and properties of the intellect alone.

This confusion comes to light in that chapter on the revival and association of sensations, for the examination of which we have, at perhaps undue length, been preparing the way. The author's opinions on this point are expressed in the following passages :

"The possibility of the revival of a sensation once experienced is a fact familiar to every one. But the sensation as revived is not the same as when actually experienced. It is idealised, it appears more refined, farther removed from the sense than it was originally. Illustrations of this are numerous and familiar. If we have once seen a fine building which has made a great impression upon us by its architectural beauty, a very slight effort will serve to recall before our minds its colour and outlines. We imagine almost we see it. So of sounds. We are familiar with the voice of a friend ; in his absence it is quite easy to recall the tones and quality of his voice ; we fancy we hear him speaking. Other sensations of taste, smell, and touch, are capable of revival in a similar manner, some more vividly, more approaching the original, than others, but all to a greater or less extent."*

And then, after a vindication, extracted from the *Psychology* of Mr. H. Spencer, of his resolution to pass by the supposed inter-connexion of nervous movements with "revived" or "idealized" sensations, he remarks as follows :

"Leaving out of account, then, the correlation, or inferred correlation between physical and mental events, as only of secondary and occasional importance in the explication of our subject, we proceed to the study of the revival and association of our sensations as revealed in consciousness. If a clear bright light be kept for a short time before the eye, and then removed, the sensation will persist for a time, and at intervals, perhaps, be revived. The same is the case with tastes, smells, and other sensations. But the sensation, as persistent or revived, is not so clear and vivid as it was originally—it has become idealised. The appearance, before consciousness of idealised sensations is not fortuitous, but takes place in certain regular and connected series. Sensations of different *quality*—that is, of different senses—are connected together, so that an actual sensation of one kind will serve to introduce before consciousness idealised sensations of other kinds. The sight of a particular

"kind of fruit with which we are acquainted at once makes us think of its smell and taste."*

It is admitted that a sensation occupies time and requires time. The sensation sometimes exists after the material impression has ceased to exist. As in the instance quoted, a flash of light is virtually instantaneous, the sensation of light lasts longer. But this persistence of a sensation is not the same thing as the revival of a sensation, as Dr. Jardine seems to remark: "The sensation as persistent or revived." Then, again, the only instances expressly quoted are taken from the class of sensations which he terms intellectual, and from that member of that class which is the most intellectual. All sensations as states of consciousness contain an intellectual element, but they differ among themselves, as Dr. Jardine's classification indicates, as to the degree in which the intellectual element obtains. Now this *intellectual* element can be revived, and, when revived in imagination, is idealised and refined; but the sensational element, the sensation *quâ* sensation, cannot be revived at all. The sight of a fine building, remarkable for its architectural beauty, will make a great impression upon us, if our perceptive faculty and æsthetical tastes are highly developed; but the seeing of such a fine building surely is not a sensation, but an act of "acquired perception;" and the objects of such acts can be recalled as mental representations, but surely not as sensations. "The sight of a particular kind of fruit makes us think of its smell and taste." *Think* of its smell and taste! If we have a weakness for Bombay mangoes, we can *think* of a particularly fine specimen, we can *think* of filling our mouths with the luscious pulp, and we can *think* of the rich, delicious flavour, and this various *thinking* may make our mouth water and so will give rise to a *new* sensation, but surely Dr. Jardine will not pretend that this thinking is a revival, even in an idealised form, of the original sensations. To *think* of the smell and taste of a particular kind of fruit is not having the "consciously felt" sensations of taste and smell. If sensations, even in a refined form, could be revived, *without the material and organic conditions being fulfilled*, (in the ordinary and normal state of the human mind) how many a needy hungry man would gladly revive the sensations of a good dinner he had enjoyed the previous week by getting a stealthy view of a gentleman's richly furnished table, or by surreptitiously peeping into a cook's shop. Some of us have experienced the sensations of tooth-ache or perhaps gout, and these sensations, if the attack was at all aggravated, have been very acute and impressive, and we have a lively memory of the pangs. But we are not able, and thankful that we are not able, to revive those sensations, even in a very refined

form. In fact, sensations and, what Dr. Jardine, as it appears to us, is confounding with them, operations of intellect, are quite different things in kind. A sensation is not an idea, and neither phantasms nor ideas are revived sensations. Of course we are very far from supposing that Dr. Jardine, as a philosopher, should be classed as an adherent of Condillac's sensationalism, but one who read this chapter only might very plausibly argue in favour of his being rightly so classed. The learned Doctor does not say in so many words *sentir c'est penser*, but if his language be accepted in its obvious meaning, he confounds thinking about sensations with having sensations.

The remarks on the necessary conditions of the consciousness of self are clear, and the position which they occupy in the synthetical development of the treatise appears to be well chosen. We notice, however, some expressions which require a little modification or detailed exposition. "The universal condition of knowledge is relativity; nothing can be known except as related to, and distinguished from, something else." "Everything is known to be what it is by being thought of as different from what it is not." This phrase "relativity of knowledge" is sprung upon us without a word of warning or note of explanation, and yet the author is well aware that it is equivocal, and is employed in very distinct senses by different modern writers on psychology. Objects of knowledge are related, as is implied in the very word *object*, and the act of knowledge constitutes a relation between the object known and the subject knowing. Knowledge is thus, in every form, a synthesis. But if the "something else" be another object of knowledge, with which the first is compared, and not a metaphysical element in the complex act, we must demur to the statement. Comparison and contrast unquestionably make our knowledge more distinct and vivid, but to assert that they are the necessary condition of *all* knowledge is to destroy the possibility of knowledge *altogether*. For, on the supposition that the first object could not be known till a second object was known to compare with it, the question arises, what becomes of the first object which *ex hypothesi* is unknown. Could there ever be a first object? On this theory, although it is sanctioned by great names, knowledge seems to be like an arch springing from non-existent piers. If the term knowledge is restricted to subsequent cognitive acts which *do* include comparison, there is no objection, provided it be so notified, and the prior existence of some intellectual act of the nature of cognition be allowed as the necessary condition.

"Thus, the only explanation which we can give of the nature or origin of our notion of self is a simple analysis of the notion itself and an opposing of its elements to their correlates." The nature of a notion is not to be regarded as identical with the

origin of it. The two questions may be closely allied, and may shed light upon each other, but still they are distinct. The question of the *origin* of the conception of cause is a different one from that of its *nature*.

One unailing test of the character and merits of a Psychology of Cognition is its solution of the difficult and important question of the origin of our notion of extension, and then, as intimately connected with and directly growing out of it, the origin of our belief in the existence of an external world. Dr. Jardine's method of handling these critical problems deserves unqualified praise. The author, as might be expected, exhibits familiarity with the present phases of the controversy, states both sides with most commendable fairness, and displays an amount and depth of original thought, which may have been exerted, and we have no doubt have been exerted in other portions of the treatise, but in truth are not so apparent. In fact, the theories on these subjects which he combats are in the main, as we understand him, "that prevailing system of psychology, which may be indicated by the word *phenomenalism*," "to show the inadequacy and unsatisfactoriness of which," was, as he states in the Preface, "one principal object which he kept before his mind in the preparation of the book."

The author's remarks on the two points mentioned above are contained, as was, perhaps, unavoidable, in different parts of the book, but a complete view can only be secured by reading them together. Here, again, we have to complain of the absence of a copious index and of a sufficient number of references backwards and forwards to the various places in which the subject in hand is more or less fully elucidated.

The fact of the existence of the notion of extension and of the belief in an external world cannot be gainsaid. The question is, how to account for the existence. The theory of an *à priori* latent conception of extension which springs up into consciousness on the occasion of sensation can only be justified by the failure of any other attempt at explanation. Pending an examination of other given explanations, it is provisionally abandoned. Accepting the justness of the author's criticism on the inaccuracy of the well-known division of systems of psychology into intuitive and associational, yet, as these terms are well-known, the alternative theories to be propounded in explanation of the genesis of the idea of extension and of the belief in an external world will be easily and satisfactorily discriminated and recognized by these names. The author accepts and defends the former. The associationalist theory postulates sensations and association of ideas, and out of these elements only, variously combined, professes to account for all our notions and beliefs whatever their nature and character, relative to material qualities and material things—and, indeed, everyth in

else. It is obvious that the associational doctrines on these two points demand searching examination, and if there be anything fallacious in the result, it is most likely to exist and be discovered here in the initial step.

Sensation and association then merit and receive the author's close attention, and his critical eye discerns two errors; an error of *defect* in the doctrine of sensation, an error of *excess* in the doctrine of association. The analysis of sensations reveals nothing to Mr. J. S. Mill and others whom he may be taken to represent, beyond feelings differing in quality and degree, and occurring either simultaneously or successively in time. Now the notion of extension is generically different from the notion of time; generically different also from the special quality of a sensation. In what way then do sensations which individually do not contain the element of extension come to possess it when in combination? It is not easy to believe that an accumulation or multiplication of nothings will give a something; and it will require strong proof and very patent evidence to establish the fact, that while no single sensation experienced apart can possibly originate the notion of extension a plurality of extensionless perceptions when experienced together can. But this strong proof and this patent evidence is what Mr. J. S. Mill is committed to produce; we quote at length the proof which Mr. J. S. Mill gives of this position, and, as a fair sample of Dr. Jardine's thought and method, his comments upon it.

"Suppose," says Mr. Mill* "two small bodies, A and B, sufficiently near together to admit of their being touched simultaneously, one with the right hand, the other with the left. Here are two tactual sensations which are simultaneous, just as a sensation of colour and one of odour might be; and this makes us cognise the two objects of touch as both existing at once. The question then is, what have we in our minds when we represent to ourselves the relation between these two objects already known to be simultaneous, in the form of extension or intervening space—a relation which we do not suppose to exist between the colour and the odour?" Our answer to this is, "that whatever the notion of extension may be, we *acquire* it by passing our hand or some other organ of touch in a longitudinal direction from A. to B, that this process as far as we are conscious of it, consists of a series of varied muscular sensations. When we say that there is a space between A and B, we mean that some amount of these muscular sensations must intervene; and when we say that the space is greater or less, we mean that the series of sensations (amount of muscular effort being given) is longer,

or shorter. If another object C, is farther off in the same line, we judge its distance to be greater, because, to reach it, the series of muscular sensations must be further prolonged, or else there must be the increase of effort which corresponds to augmented velocity. Now this, which is unquestionably the mode in which we become *aware* of extension, is considered by the psychologists in question to *be* extension. The idea of extended body they consider to be that of a variety of resisting points, existing simultaneously, but which can be perceived by the same tactile organ only successively, at the end of a series of muscular sensations which constitutes their *distance*; and are said to be at different distances from one another because the series of intervening muscular sensations is longer in some cases than in others. An intervening series of muscular sensations, before the one object can be reached from the other, is the only peculiarity which (according to this theory) distinguishes simultaneity which may exist between a taste and a colour, or a taste and a smell; and we have no reason for believing that space or extension, in itself, is anything different from that which we recognise it by.* Here then is an attempt to explain extension by one who does not think extension is involved either in single sensations or in the relations of different but simultaneous sensations. Let us examine the attempt:—

1.—It is assumed that extension is identical with that by which it is recognised or measured, that is with a succession of muscular sensations occupying time. But this is by no means to be admitted. The amount of force with which a ball is expelled from the mouth of a cannon is recognised and measured by its velocity, that is, by the number of feet which it traverses in a second of time. But no one ever maintains that force is identical with velocity. In the same way, although extension is measured by muscular sensations occupying time, to say that the former is identical with the latter is quite unwarranted.

2.—Why is it that *muscular* sensations are chosen to fill up the intervening space between one point and another? *All* sensations are *ex hypothesi* equally destitute of extension. The two points, A and B, are recognised by two sensations, and must be assumed not as points in space, but as points in time, because the idea of space is not supposed to be known. Let then the point A, be marked by a particular sensation, say of smell; a number of intervening sensations, muscular sensations, or any others differing in intensity and duration, take place. Then another point of time, B, is reached, marked by another sensation. Thus, here we have two points, A and B, points in time, and recognised by two

* Mill's 'Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy,' pp. 273-275.

distinct sensations, separated from one another by a number of intervening sensations, say of sight, or hearing, or smell, differing in intensity and duration; is the result of this an idea of extension or space? Certainly not. The mere statement of the problem, substituting for "muscular sensations" any other kind of sensations, is sufficient to show the absurdity of deducing the notion of extension from that of sensations succeeding one another in time.

3. The reason why muscular sensations are chosen to fill up the space between the points A and B, instead of sensations of smell, or taste, or colour, appears to be that the former kind of sensations is expressed in *motion*, which *involves* extension, and the points A and B are really points in space. For let us eliminate carefully from the data all spatial elements, and see what follows. The sensations by which they are marked are at first supposed to be simultaneous. In this there is only time. But the idea of space is said to be acquired by passing the hand from A to B. Supposing the hand is at A. Here is a sensation in time. B as yet does not exist, because the existence of the point must not be assumed till the sensation indicating it has taken place. The hand leaves A; the point A ceases to exist, except in memory, because the sensation indicating it has ceased. The hand reaches B, a new sensation takes place, a new point in time has been reached. But where is A? In memory. It is a point not now existing, except in past time. To speak, therefore, of two points of time existing simultaneously is altogether unmeaning. And Mr. Mill's explanation is quite unintelligible unless the points are tacitly assumed to exist in *space* and the muscular sensations to result in *motion*. Thus the very idea, whose origin the theory professes to explain, is quietly assumed at the beginning of the explanation.

This theory which is called by Mr. Mill, the psychological theory, but by Dr. Jardine, with simpler descriptiveness, "the muscle-and-time theory," is therefore rejected as untenable; the *a priori* theory of Kant is for reasons which are adduced placed in the same category. The ground being thus cleared, the author lays out that explanation of the origin of this notion which he himself adopts. It is in connexion with this exposition he develops the idea to which he had previously alluded;—the character and contents of sensations regarded as objects. Considered as objects, sensations have laws of existence and mutual relations of their own and independent of our consciousness of them. They are recognised as being foreign from the subject in origin, and, moreover, these sensations as objects of consciousness are, originally, however vaguely, localised, or felt to occupy some particular portion of space. "Sensations appear to have two sides, or to stand in two relations. The one is inward, and becomes the

"object of consciousness; the other is outward, and is localised in the organism. What is on one side feeling simply, is on the other side objectified and localised feeling. And thus in objectified sensations there is involved an element which *presents* extension directly to consciousness."*

"In conscious knowledge (*i.e.*, as regards sensations), there is an *ego* and a *non-ego*, a subject and an object, known in contrast to one another. The object is an affection of the sensorium, a sensation of some kind, say of colour, resistance, or sound. But although a sensation, it *is* or *reveals* a veritable *non-ego* in immediate contrast with the *ego*. Conscious knowledge is, in fact, impossible which does not set an object over against a subject; and in relation to perception that which is thus objectified is a sensation. Thus sensations, although immediately known in consciousness, are not therefore purely mental; they contain a foreign element, they belong to, or constitute, the *non-ego* of our immediate knowledge."† This is the author's *resumé* of Sir W. Hamilton's doctrine on the subject which he considers correct.

In this statement the physical organism is not *assumed* to exist. The appeal is to the authority of consciousness. A thorough-going analysis of sensational consciousness, contemplated in its objective aspect, brings to light this element of knowledge,—the idea of extension, in a vague and rudimentary form, no doubt, which subsequently is elaborated and perfected by abstraction. These sensations are localised, and the "co-existence of these sensations at the same point of time implies their mutual externality, and therefore involves the idea of extension or space." "This relation of mutual outness is the simplest form in which we perceive extension." "Some sensations, *viz.*, of sight and touch are not merely localised in a point but diffused over a surface."

It must be borne in mind that the question is not at all concerning *figure* or *definite* extension, but simply extension however indefinite and however small. The point of a needle possesses superficial extension.

It is associationalists who, in the interests of their side of the controversy, generally miss seeing the exact issues of the question, that usually confound the matured and developed notion of extension with the elementary idea of it which is revealed in some simple state of sensational consciousness. But an idea of extension, however elementary, is not an idea of time-succession: and that such an idea is given by vision, Mr. J. S. Mill is compelled to admit, though he attempts to evade the consequences of his admission by denying the identity of such a conception with the perfected

knowledge of extension which is derived from the conjoint operation of sight and touch ;—a position which is not asserted. “ A rudimentary conception must be allowed, for it is evident that even without moving the eye we are capable of having two sensations of colour at once, and that the boundary which separates the colours must give some specific affection of sight, otherwise we should have no discriminative impressions capable of afterwards becoming, by association, representative of the cognitions of lines and figures which we owe to the tactual and the muscular sense. But to confer on these discriminative impressions the name which denotes our matured and perfected cognition of extension, or even to assume that they have in their nature anything in common with it, seems to be going beyond the evidence.”* After admitting that sight, apart from the muscular sensations which accompany its ordinary exercise, would of itself give us an impression, though “ vague, indistinct and rudimentary” of a boundary between two colours, it is not easy to understand how both the two colours and the boundary together should not occupy space, and how sight should not contain an element which has something in its nature common with our matured cognition of extension. In developed perception sight contributes more than touch to the interpretation of perceptions common to both, and almost everything perceived is judged of by its visible marks.

It may be remarked that the mode of explaining the origin of our idea of extension by intuition adopted by Dr. Jardine is identical with Sir W. Hamilton’s theory, and is stated almost in his words : “ In the consciousness of sensations, relatively localised and reciprocally external, we have a veritable apprehension, and consequently, an immediate perception of the affected organism, as extended.”†

But we venture to think that Sir W. Hamilton’s carefully fenced and guarded statement is the more accurate of the two. We believe that Dr. Jardine would readily subscribe to the truth of the quotation we have made from Sir W. Hamilton’s *Dissertations*, but it is noticeable that while Dr. Jardine in general speaks of abstract qualities being perceived, Sir W. Hamilton mentions *extended organism*. Abstracts are formed from concretes, and imply them. Extension is a mental abstraction, and implies an extended object. Now sensations objectively contemplated are not mere abstract qualities, but things or objects having such and such qualities. And although Dr. Jardine does limit the application of the term perception to the knowledge of external extra-organic objects, (to which limitation we take no

* J. S. Mill’s *Examination*, p. 293. † Hamilton’s *Reid*, Vol. II, p. 884.

exception) yet, as we have seen, when he alleges that perception is "*more or less complete*," he by implication admits the existence of prior acts of knowledge, which, as *incomplete* perceptions, must be placed in the category of perception. In a similar way, if the object of an act of complete perception is a material being possessing various qualities, he must allow that the objects of the acts of incomplete perception are not mere abstract qualities, but beings having qualities. In what way these objects, (percepts as they are called,) which are appropriate to each sense, and are of course of very varied relative importance, are subsequently combined into material wholes or unities, is another and difficult question, subsequently and carefully discussed, but one indispensable condition of its being accomplished is the insistence upon the fact that in sensational consciousness there is presented, not directly qualities, but a material object possessing qualities. We have no desire to enter upon the thorny and vexed question of substance and attribute, from which the author has so distinctly warned us off, but still an explicit reference to this point, as a revelation of consciousness, is desirable on account of its close and important bearing upon the *psychology* of cognition, both of act and object. Our remarks on this point have no reference to Dr. Jardine's opinions, but simply to his statements of them, and only to these in their usual form. For occasionally, his language clearly indicates that his general meaning is identical with that expressed by Sir W. Hamilton. For instance,—
 "there is no such thing as sensation in the abstract which is not a particular sensation of smell or taste or touch or some other; it is impossible for us to think of these sensations, or to feel them except as being localised." * And again, "the whole complicated organism may be considered as one sense whose intention is first, to *present to consciousness objects possessing extension*."†

But as yet we have not got outside the periphery of our bodies. The education of the senses is not completed till the limits of consciousness are transcended, and all the senses are so welded together in their operations that the exercise of some one sense occasionally does duty for all. Qualities originally appropriate to one sense come to be perceived by a different sense, and we learn to see things invisible. The method in which the percepts, as we have termed them, peculiar to each sense come to be combined into complete objects of perception, and projected into space, forms the subject of an interesting chapter; but of course the author has to struggle with the inevitable difficulty of describing in a linear series, as it were, the process of association and projection of the several sensations, while, in the natural course

of development and education, it is, as regards all the senses, going on simultaneously. There occur various subtle remarks on the mutual relations of sensations and qualities, on the ambiguities of the term quality, and on the phenomenal and noumenal elements of the objects of perception which lack of space compels us to pass over. We must hasten on to notice the method of the author's treatment of that most knotty question in the psychology of cognition;—the origin and character of the belief in a material world. The line of argument which he follows will, we have little doubt, in its main outlines, be inferred by all who are conversant with psychological research from what we have seen to be his theory of the origin of the idea of extension. But still there is something peculiar and we think specially valuable in his point of view of the problem to be explained, which exhibits his appreciation of the nature and exact range of psychological study, and of the necessity of securing a rational secure basis in a system of psychology for the researches of purely physical science.

The result is a view of the relation of the material world to the knowing mind which is somewhat different from the one ordinarily adopted by philosophers of the intuitive school, inasmuch as this world is not regarded as being altogether an independent reality, and which again is opposed to the one-sided and partial theory developed by psychologists of the school of thought, of which Mr. Bain, for instance, may be accepted as the representative, inasmuch as this world is regarded as possessing an independent existence and reality. In the chapter under notice, there are a few sentences which, as containing suggestive hints of the author's theory and as preparing the way for its fuller discussion, may be quoted. "As far as our *knowledge* of the distant *non-ego* is concerned, we have seen that it consists of sensations projected into space and combined variously into different unities called objects. These projected sensations we call qualities, and thus objects are composed of a number of qualities. But objects thus composed are manifestly the creation, to a great extent, of our own minds. The sensations are mental phenomena; the act of projection, and the combination of sensations of touch with those of sight and others, are mental processes. The *foreignness* and *independence* of these objects to the mind are revealed only in the fact that the mind cannot create or annihilate its sensations at will, and that the laws of the combination of these sensations are evidently not mental laws, but laws of a *non-ego*. In the *objectiveness* of projected sensations and their laws there is believed to be involved the existence of some *non-ego independent of our knowledge*.* The reader will under-

stand that the *non-ego* here spoken of is the external world outside the sentient organism to which it is opposed, and the sensations which are projected are the perceptive elements—percepts—which are constituents of the complex mental state termed sensation. Again, “now the sensible world, in perception, is separated from the mind, although in the analysis of the process of perception we have seen that this separation is not a real one. The sensible world is partly the creation of the conscious mind; and, in the study of psychology, it must ever be borne in mind that the objects of that world combine in themselves both subjective and objective elements—partake both of the *ego* and the *non-ego*. In the study of the particular sciences, however, such as optics, acoustics, mineralogy, botany, as well as in the ordinary affairs of life, it is quite legitimate and, indeed, necessary, to bestow independent existence upon the objects of the senses. This is done for us naturally in the education which our senses receive; and the study of objective science does not require us to leave the stand-point of practical life while the study of psychology does.”*

The point of departure of physical science is the assumption of the reality and existence of the object-matter whose properties, laws and history it investigates; an existence is assumed which is quite independent of the mode in which it is cognized or, indeed, of its being known by any mind. But the point of departure of psychology is earlier and deeper than this. Its aim is to explicate the process of knowledge, to show how we come to know things, and to examine whether we can predicate existence, and if so, what kind of existence, of the objects of knowledge.

And thus the question which psychology must face and in some manner or other answer is this: Is this assumption of physical science justifiable? The fact is indubitable, as Dr. Jardine says, that in the ordinary course of our natural education it does come to pass that we all take for granted the truth of this assumption, and in these days of deep research into the physical forces of nature and into the state of this planet ages before it was inhabited by human beings, the problem of a true psychological explanation of the nature and warrant of this as it were constitutional belief in the independent existence of a material world acquires new and additional importance.

Like the idea of extension, the existence of this belief being undeniable, the obvious questions are; how do we come to entertain such a belief, and is the belief philosophically tenable?

These questions are not without difficulty to those philosophers, who claim for the mind a direct knowledge of material qualities

in sensational consciousness ; but the difficulties are indefinitely enhanced when the belief has to be constructed out of purely mental elements, destitute of even a rudimentary knowledge of such qualities. We have already remarked that as regards sensations, the primitive forms of consciousness, the associational school errs, as Dr. Jardine shews, on the side of defect ; and now it will be seen that as regards their efforts to construct the belief in a material world out of sensations such as they describe them to be, they err again on the side of excess. The beginning, middle and end of their philosophy is association of ideas. This is the one agency by which all the complex activities of the human mind in all its departments are brought into existence ; the one source from which all our cherished beliefs and deep convictions flow. With this magical wand Mr. J. S. Mill claims the ability to conjure into existence out of sensations devoid of the element of space "as vast and as variegated a picture of the universe as can be had on the other theory ; indeed, as I (Mr. Mill) maintain, the very same picture."* The marvellous and recent discoveries of astronomy, the ancient and partially deciphered record of geology, everything in earth and heaven in time past, present and to come—the universe in fact as "a vast and variegated picture" is "a mere series of sensations felt and possibilities of sensation inferred." In these words we have not exaggerated Mr. Mill's estimate of the efficacy of association to generate out of extensionless sensations beliefs in a universe practically boundless in space and existing for ages prior to the origin of man. We have only put in a concrete form his own statements : "What is it we mean, or what is it which leads us to say, that the objects we perceive are external to us, and not a part of our own thoughts ? We mean, that there is concerned in our perceptions something which exists when we are not thinking of it ; which existed before we had ever thought of it, and would exist if we were annihilated ; and further, that there exist things which we never saw, touch, or otherwise perceived, and things which never have been perceived by man."† Whether these "things" exist or not, is not now the question. The *belief* in their existence is a fact ; and on the assumption that no intuition of an external world ever existed in consciousness, Mr. Mill maintains that the existence of the belief in its strength and range can be satisfactorily accounted for. It is "but the form impressed by the known laws of association, upon the conception or notion, obtained by experience, of contingent sensations."‡ If *such* a belief can be *so* generated, surely that is amply sufficient. The assumption of an independently existing material world is simply superfluous. It is

* Mill's *Examination*, p. 251.

§ Mill's *Examination*, p. 227.

† Mill's *Examination*, p. 227.

"not required that we should have referred these sensations to a substance ulterior to all sensation or possibility of sensation."*

But the enquiry will inevitably arise, is this belief legitimate? Supposing that men are convinced that there exists no objective reality corresponding to this belief, can the belief survive, association notwithstanding? In a similar way Mr. Mill attempts to show that the feeling of obligation is merely a "subjective feeling in our minds," apart from external independent facts to which we understand the feeling as pointing. But if we once come to believe that there exist no objective facts corresponding to this feeling, will the feeling retain its binding force? No doubt, as Mr. Mill illustratively argues, the immediate motive power of reverence and fear of God is the "*subjective feeling*," but the feeling is based on a belief in the objective independent existence of the Divine Being, and if the belief has no reality, will not the reverential feeling be dissolved?† All these are questions naturally arising out of Mr. Mill's psychological theory, or rather they are merely different aspects of the same question. Ultimately, some feeling or other is all that we are conscious of, and the feeling suggests or reveals external facts. Is the suggestion legitimate or merely visionary? All this, unquestionably, is open to Mr. Mill's stereotyped reply that "we have not yet sufficiently thought ourselves into the theory we deny"‡ —which is quite true, at least as we understand it.

Now, Dr. Jardine summarily puts an arrest upon this magical associational process of constructing a belief in the universe. He lays down a fundamental principle as to the limits of the creative and transmutive power of association which strikes at the very roots of Mr. Mill's psychological theory of the belief in a material world. "It must be accepted as a fixed principle of association that nothing different in *kind* can appear in the result of the process of association which was not involved in the original elements. Now, according to most of the members of the associational school the original elements to be associated are sensations in certain relations. If these sensations are nothing but the activities of the *ego*, if they are purely mental products, it is manifest that the objects into which these sensations are clustered and bound together by association can never become anything else but mental. . . . Objects are clusters of sensations supposed to have a permanent existence independent of the individual mind, in consequence of their mutual coherence and regular recurrence."§ If we consider for a moment the nature of the processes of association and abstraction, we shall see that "neither of them can account for the origin of our knowledge of

* Mill's *Examination*, p. 251.

† See Mill's *Utilitarianism*, p. 44.

‡ *Examination*, p. 261.

§ Page 134.

"space. Association unites together sensations, or other objects of intuition, into a compound ; but the compound thus formed cannot possibly contain anything which was not in the original elements associated. Suppose that our only original intuitions are unextended sensations, and the relation between them of succession or time, it will be impossible for any association to convert either sensations or time, or any combination of the two into space. The most elaborate attempt to do so is that of Mr. Mill, and it, we have seen, is a failure."

"Equally impossible is it for the process of abstraction to produce anything not involved in the original objects of intuition, or in the perceived relation between them. . . . Nor is it in any way possible to know by abstraction from objects of consciousness what was not known by intuition in them. Those who maintain the contrary have yet to show its possibility."*

For the purpose of comparison and contrast let us place along side this statement of the limited range and character of the operation of association, Mr. Mill's averment of its almost universal potency "There are associations naturally, and even necessarily generated by the order of our sensations and of our reminiscences of sensation, which, supposing no intuition of an external world to have existed in consciousness, would inevitably generate the belief, and would cause it to be regarded as an intuition."†

The opposition between the two doctrines of association enunciated by Mr. J. S. Mill, and Dr. Jardine is clear and decisive. Plainly the latter has no belief whatever in the reality of what has been not inaptly termed *mental* chemistry. Sensations mixed and combined, or as Mr. Bain divides the varieties of the process, simply, compoundly, and constructively associated, will remain sensations, provided always no other and higher mental element is introduced into the mixture. Supposing we throw in *expectation*, which yet is a different and higher element than sensation, and whose existence is not accounted for by the fact of sensations occurring in a fixed order, we are still a very long way from that condition of mental activity which would give birth to such a book as Mr. Mill's *System of Logic*. Very clear and distinct evidence is required to establish what *prima facie* is highly improbable that all the higher intellectual operations, such as comparison and judgment, as these acts are known in consciousness, as well as the objects of these operations, are the products of associated sensa-

* Page 137.

† Mill's *Examination*, p. 227. The edition from which we quote is the *Fourth*. Dr. Jardine, citing this

passage, refers to page 221. He evidently used an earlier edition. Dr. Jardine's *Psychology*, p. 141.

tions. What is the evidence? If it can be proved that there are processes of generation of intellectual acts and objects out of generically different mental phenomena, which are analogous to chemical combination, it is obvious that the principle which Dr. Jardine lays down as to the limited powers of association must be abandoned. Mr. J. S. Mill refers to the generation of the idea of extension out of radically different elements, but we see that having introduced the element of extension into the mental crucible, that is, having begun with assuming the very idea whose origin he professes to account for, this instance is not in point. The favourite illustration of mental chemistry, quoted from Mr. James Mill's *Analysis of the Human Mind* with approbation in his *Examination*, and adduced by him in his *Logic*,* is the admitted fact "that when the seven prismatic colours are presented to the eye in rapid succession, the sensation produced is that of white. As in this last case it is correct to say that the seven colours when they rapidly follow one another *generate* white, but not that they actually *are* white; so it appears to me that the complex idea, formed by the blending together of several simpler ones, should, when it really appears simple (that is, when the separate elements are not consciously distinguishable in it), be said to *result from* or be *generated by*, the simple ideas, not to *consist* of them."† Unquestionably sensations may combine with sensations, and ideas (which *pace* Dr. Jardine are not sensations, either weak or refined, but something altogether different) may combine with ideas, and by repeated conjunction even coalesce; but the question is about mental chemistry. Will the result of a combination of sensations be anything different in *kind* from sensations? Dr. Jardine, in his remarks on the possibility of complex sensations being resolved into more simple elements instances this very stock-illustration of psychological chemistry to which Mr. J. S. Mill so frequently refers, to show—not that one class of mental phenomena can be generated out of others generically different—but that complex sensations can be resolved into elementary *sensations*. "A well-known optical toy, consisting of a disc of card-paper with the spectral colours painted upon it, and made to revolve rapidly upon its axis, shows that the separate sensations may, by rapidity of succession, become blended together again and form one complex sensation more or less closely resembling the original ones."‡ The proposed method of explaining all the higher processes and products of the mind by means of the single principle of association has a charm for scientific students who realize the potent law of attraction in mechanics and chemistry, but pending the

* Vol. II. p. 441, 8th Edition.

† Dr. Jardine's *Psychology*, p. 33.

‡ Mill's *Logic*, Vol. II; p. 441

production of higher evidence than has yet been exhibited, we think the associational school attribute to this principle much greater potency than it really possesses, and that the statement which Dr. Jardine makes in reference to its restricted efficacy is true.

As a pendant to our author's criticisms upon Mr. Mill's attempted explanation of the origin of the idea of extension, which we quoted, we give below also his remarks in full on Mr. Mill's well-known Psychological Theory of a Belief in the Material World.

"Beginning with the existence of sensations, he maintains,* 'that there are associations naturally, and even necessarily, generated by the order of our sensations and of our reminiscences of sensation, which, supposing no intuition of an external world to have existed in consciousness, would inevitably generate the belief, and would cause it to be regarded as an intuition.' In support of this he shows that, in certain circumstances, sensations which we have felt recur to us regularly upon the fulfilment of certain conditions; that thus we think of the possibility of the recurrence of these sensations as being permanent, whereas sensations themselves are fugitive; that it is not merely single sensations, which are thus connected with permanent possibilities of them; and that the sensations of these groups occur in a fixed order. "Hence" he concludes, "We speedily learn to think of Nature as made up solely of these groups of possibilities, and the active force in Nature as manifested in the modification of some of these by others. The sensations, though the original foundation of the whole, come to be looked upon as a sort of accident depending on us, and the possibilities as much more real than the actual sensations, nay, as the very realities of which these are only the representations, appearances, or effects. When this state of mind has been arrived at, then, and from that time forward, we are never conscious of a present sensation without instantaneously referring it to some one of the groups of possibilities into which a sensation of that particular description enters; and if we do not yet know to what group to refer it, we at least feel an irresistible conviction that it must belong to some group or other, *i.e.*, that its presence proves the existence, here and now, of a great number and variety of possibilities of sensation, without which it would not have been. The whole set of sensations as possible form a permanent background to any one or more of them that are at a given moment actual; and the possibilities are conceived as standing to the actual sensations in the relation of a cause to its effects, or of canvas to the figures painted on it, or of a root to the trunk,

* *Examination*, p. 227.

leaves, and flowers, or of a substratum to that which is spread over it, or, in transcendental language, of matter to form."* Here, then, we have the external world produced by Mr. Mill from sensations variously associated together.

Now let us pass over the question, how Mr. Mill gets his sensations projected into space, which he does not explain, and refer to another point of more vital importance. He speaks of "the active force in nature," but we may ask how he comes to know anything about such a force? Force is not a sensation, nor is it any association of sensations. This, however, is not the main point of our criticism. "The whole set of sensations," he says, "as possible form a permanent back-ground to anyone or more of them that are at a given moment actual; and the possibilities are conceived as standing to the actual sensations in the relation of a cause to its effects." Let us examine this statement. The possibilities of sensations are conceived as the cause of actual sensations. We have, for example, the sensation of a particular figured colour which is associated with the name of orange. Connected with this sensation there are a number of possible sensations of smell, taste, touch, sound, &c. *The possibility of these sensations is the cause of the colour.* What does this mean? Is the possibility of a smell the cause of a colour? Is the possibility of a taste the cause of a colour? Or is the possibility of all the other sensations of the group taken together the cause of colour? If we ask a scientific man what is the cause of colour, he will answer that it is a ray of light. If we inquire further what he means by a ray of light, he will tell us that it is the insensible vibration of an ethereal fluid caused by some power of a luminous body. This we can understand, but when Mr. Mill tells us that the possibility of a smell, or a taste, or a touch, or all put together, is the cause of a colour, we confess that we do not understand what he means. There appears to be such an utter incongruity between the antecedent and the consequent that we cannot think of them as forming a sequence. And what is true of the sensation of colour, is equally true with reference to all our other sensations. The possibility, as Mr. Mill calls it, of one or more sensations of a group, we cannot think of as being the cause of the remaining different sensation or sensations. But yet this is the only kind of cause which could be reached from the original elements with which he sets out by the help of association. He begins with sensations; he ends with groups of actual and possible sensations having a fictitious objectivity.

If, then, Mr. Mill's laws of association operating upon the original sensations of consciousness do not produce what we

* *Examination*, pp. 24-25.

believe to be a veritable external world, we have now to inquire whether there is in his method any fundamental defect. The result of this inquiry will simply be an answer to the question formerly referred to, whether some other principle than laws of association be not necessary to explain our belief in an external world? We believe that there is; and that the essential defect of the psychology of which Mr. Mill is an exponent consists in the ignoring of this other principle.* In that psychology it is assumed that sensations exist; but no attempt is made to account for their existence, sensations exist in certain relations of co-existence and sequence; in some cases an invariable relation of antecedence and consequence is observed; and by association the antecedent comes to be looked upon as the cause of the consequent. And from this association or phenomenal theory of sensation, we are led to the absurd conclusion that the possibility of a sensation of resistance, or smell, is the cause of an actual sensation of colour. Now it is, perhaps, in the simple original sensations of our consciousness that we are able to see most clearly the fallacy of the phenomenal view of sensation which Mr. Mill accepts. When we have a sensation, say of smell, or colours, or taste, although they are most intimately and inseparably associated together, we never look upon the one as the cause of the other. And yet we do give an account to ourselves of the cause of these sensations. They are something beyond our own control; they come to us unbidden; and our very *powerlessness* with reference to them *compels* us to refer them to some objective *power*. That power is, as far as our consciousness is concerned, unknown. It is *not a phenomenon*, although it is manifested to us in a phenomenon. Thus our conception of a sensation as being a *non-ego* involves a belief, of some veritable objective cause of it, and this intuition of the causal relation, whether strictly original or not must be carried with us through the whole subsequent process by which our perceptive knowledge is built up. By the introduction of the causal judgment at this early state we are able to account for a belief in material body in which will not be involved the absurdity of one sensation, or the possibility of one sensation, being the cause of another of a different kind. According to this view, *phenomenal* body consists of objectified sensations collected together in a group by association; but to this body the educated intellect does not attribute any causal efficiency. On the other hand, *non-phenomenal* body, or matter, as it is called, is simply a synthesis of inferred powers, each power being inferred to account for the sensation or quality corresponding to it which enters as a constituent member into the group of qualities which we perceive.

The statement of this latter view regarding the nature of the

perceptive process in which the principle of causation is made use of, in addition to the laws of association, brings us to the last important point which we proposed to consider. The nature of the inferred causes of our sensations and their synthesis is a problem which the phenomenalism of Mr. Mill and his school does not touch. And yet it is with this problem that a great deal of modern science has to do. Light, heat, electricity, force, as studied by physicists, are non-phenomenal powers, and the object of science is to ascertain their laws and relations, With this subject we have nothing to do, except to point out that a true psychology must leave a place for it.”*

Dr. Jardine does not expressly refer to the, in many respects, admirable, elaborate, but also defective explanation of the belief in the external world given by Mr. Bain in his great work, *The Senses and the Intellect*; but his last remark in this long quotation, in which he speaks of the requirements of a true psychology, taken along with his previous statement that the material world is not altogether independent of our mental activity, indicates, along with a recognition of the elements of truth to be found in Mr. Bain's theory, a perception of its shortcomings and defects. Mr. Bain's explanation of the perception of a material world and of the belief in its independent existence has distinctive merits as exhibiting the right point of view of psychological enquiry and as containing many of the features of a true philosophy; but its demerits are equally conspicuous inasmuch as it fails to provide a rational psychological basis for the assumptions of physical science as to the reality and independent existence of the forces of nature, and also ignores elements of knowledge discoverable by close scrutiny of the human mind which will account for the popular belief and go far to justify it. Like all earnest men who have a thorough conviction of the soundness and importance of their opinions, Mr. Bain avails himself of every suitable opportunity of pressing them, both in their positive and negative aspects, upon the attention of his readers. His psychological views, ever and again, crop up in his treatise on Logic, and it is in this latter work we find a clear and concise statement of his matured opinion on the supposed independent existence of a material world which will serve to set off Dr. Jardine's theory in its two-fold relation to the associational school on one hand and to the intuitive school on the other.

Speaking of the existence of hypothesis in psychology, and instancing perception as a case in point, he says: “On this subject, there prevails the assumption of an independent

* Jardine's *Psychology*, pp. 141-147

“material world and a series of independent minds brought into mutual contact; an assumption that has the great recommendation of easily and simply expressing all the common phenomena. It has, however, the serious drawback of being self-contradictory; whereas the view that avoids the contradiction is lumbering and unmanageable in its application to express the facts, and hence the backwardness to receive it as a substitute for the other. This is an extreme case of a hypothesis believed solely because it squares with the appearances. Not only is there an absence of proof otherwise, but there is flagrant self-contradiction, which ought to be considered as a complete *disproof*.”*

The fault lies not so much in what is asserted as to these “assumptions,” as in what is left unsaid. The sin is one more of omission than commission; and yet Mr. Bain’s emphatic language is misleading. The *disproof* of the view he combats does not prove his own view to be correct; for his appreciation of the possible alternatives is not exhaustive. We conceive that Dr. Jardine, on his own interpretation, would experience little difficulty in going along with Mr. Bain in his denial of the existence of an independent world; but the question would arise, what does Mr. Bain mean to assert by this denial? Is he denying a total complete independence, and *therefore asserting* a total and complete dependence? Does Mr. Bain intend to imply that the material world in *all* its aspects and elements as cognized by the human mind is *entirely* dependent for its existence upon consciousness, or that to some extent and *partially* it is the creation of the consciousness? We conceive that Dr. Jardine would demur to the former alternative and adduce excellent reasons for his demurrer, while the latter he would unhesitatingly endorse. The idea of existence apart from its being perceived indicates a stand-point which every psychologist would disown, but Mr. Bain’s emphasizing of this point does not advance him much in his attempted proof that the material world, as perceived, is not perceived as being in *some* of its elements independent of the perception. Dr. Jardine, if we do not misinterpret him, maintains the material world to be both dependent and independent.

Mr. Bain sums up his elaborate investigation of the perception and belief of a material world in the following words: “So, instead of looking upon the doctrine of an external world as a generalization or abstraction grounded on our particular experiences, summoning up the past and predicting the future, we have got into the way of maintaining the abstraction to be an independent reality, the foundation, or cause, or origin of all those experiences.”†

* Bain’s *Inductive Logic*, p. 285. † *Senses and Intellect*, p. 382.

"We have got into the way of maintaining the abstraction to be an independent reality!" We do not think that we have done anything of the kind. Abstractions are things that philosophers have much to do with, and it is they who are answerable for the fault of substantivising abstractions, not others. It is Mr. Bain himself who endeavours to prove that the world is an abstraction, and then, gratuitously crediting people generally with the perception of nothing but an abstraction, accuses them of having blunderingly "*got into the way*" of turning this abstraction into a reality. He says: "This leads us to generalize sensation still more, and to form to ourselves an *abstraction* that comprehends all our experience, past and present, and all the experience of others; which abstraction is the utmost that our minds can attain to respecting an external and material world." "The mistake is, supposing the abstractions of the mind to have a separate and independent existence."* Abstractions have no *separate* existence, but still they have an existence in the objects perceived from which they are abstracted. If objects possessing material qualities are not perceived, these material qualities cannot, as Dr. Jardine truly remarks, be abstracted; and if the actual undeniable contents of the belief in a material world are not elements, in some form or other, in the objects of perception, abstraction will not account for their existence.

Passing by, then, this notion of an abstraction, as an unsatisfactory account of the real character of the belief under investigation, Mr. Bain's language is certainly curious, "We have got into the way." We certainly have got into the way of believing the world to have an existence independent of our perception of it, and the question naturally presents itself, could we help getting into this way? The conviction gathers strength with the development of the human mind and, long before it is capable of forming abstractions, or is amenable to the abstruse arguments of metaphysicians, is matured and ineradicably rooted. And if our having got into this way is, as Mr. H. Spencer argues, the result of accumulated experience transmitted from generation to generation, it is plain that we have advanced so far in this way that it is extremely improbable that we shall ever retrace our steps. The invincible obstinacy with which people cling to this belief is a sore trial to philosophers of the school to which Mr. Bain belongs, and indicates that he is committed to a hopeless undertaking.

But then the further question will be suggested, is the way into which we have got, a wrong way after all? May it not be that the mistake is on Mr. Bain's part? If his view is partial and one-sided, if in his explication he has failed to recognize

* *Senses and Intellect*, pp. 380-381.

and take into account in his calculation *all* the elements revealed in human consciousness, it is not very wonderful that the result arrived at should not harmonize with facts.

Now Dr. Jardine's point of departure is practically identical with Mr. Bain's, and truly psychological, and both build up the belief of a material world out of elements given in sensational consciousness; but the divergence commences in the estimate of the amount and quality of the objective elements of this consciousness, and every advance in the synthetical development of cognition widens the difference. But still Dr. Jardine occupies an intermediate position between the two rival schools as they are popularly conceived. He holds so far with the *results* reached by the associational school as to agree with them that the world is partly not independent of the knowing mind; and his recognition of the elements of truth, incomplete and partial, but still truth, in their theory on this point, is a very great help to the student to perceive where the theory halts, and in what way errors creep in. While on the other side, by taking the philosophical point of view and rejecting the prior assumption of the existence of two independent substances, mind and matter, he carefully, in the spirit and method of a right psychology, traces out the elements, process and products of cognition, and in the end justifies the belief in natural realism. We think this portion of the treatise is specially valuable, as the subject with which it deals is, in the last degree, important. Written in an uncontroversial spirit, being the product of full, accurate and digested learning, and dealing with topics, which are now somewhat hotly discussed, in a simple, lucid, masterly way, the book is a very meritorious work, and will, when it is carefully revised, and the marks of hasty composition obliterated, do excellent service in indoctrinating our University students with enlightened and sound opinions on some of the vexed questions of psychology, and also on an extensive scale, if, as we hope it will be, the treatise is adopted by the Governing Body of the Calcutta University as one of its text-books for the B.A. Examination.

We had marked many passages in the author's explications of the processes and products of representation and thought, which we should have desired to quote or comment upon, but the undue length to which this notice has already run precludes our doing so. Sufficient that the rest of the work is of the same high character as the beginning, distinguished by the same qualities of full information, clearness and depth of thinking, and simple natural style.

Our remarks have shewn that we conceive the work, excellent as it is, to be capable of improvement; and in this direction Dr. Jardine may have a clearer perception of what is required than we possess.

322 *The Elements of the Psychology of Cognition.*

Our only desire is, that this edition may be speedily sold off, in order that the author may avail himself of the call for a *second* edition to enrich the book with a copious index, and such other modifications, enlargements, references, as, whether suggested to him or not, commend themselves to his judgment.

ART. V.—THE LOST RIVER OF THE INDIAN DESERT.

A COMMENT:—BY NEARCHUS.

THE writer in the *Calcutta Review* of July last, who published "Notes on the Lost River of the Indian Desert," and who tried to establish the proposition, that the River Satlej was *not* one of the five rivers of the Panjáb of the ancient geographers, has failed to prove his position. This is the opinion of some who dwell in the desert, and who are interested in the historical search for the lost river.

The reviewer's proposition is, that the five rivers were—1 the Indus (Sindh) ; 2, the Jhelam (Hydaspes) ; 3, Chenáb (Acesines) ; 4, the Rávi (Hydraotes) ; 5, Biyás (Hyphasis). That the Chenáb carried down the united waters of the last four streams, to join the Indus (Mehran). That the Indus was known as the Panjnad (five rivers) from the point of confluence to Aror near Rori-Bukhar. Whilst the Satlej (Zaradrus vel Hesudrus) was a great stream by itself which ran eastward, between the Biyás and Jamna. Its course was through the Marastháli (Region of Death) down to the Rann of Kach. The reviewer supports his theorem by a train of arguments which *hinge* upon one period, *viz.*, the *thirteenth century*. To this period he traces the drying-up of the Sótra or Hakrá, which calamity was the *cause* of the downfall of the Sumra dynasty over the lands of Kádál, which was succeeded by the Summas. There are three great points, then, on which this proposition rests and which have to be disproved. The writer seems to me "to base positive conclusions *too often* on merely negative data" as Hugh Miller complained was frequently done in the geological field. I shall endeavour to controvert his arguments *seriatim*, and shall try to arrive at a truer conclusion concerning the river that flowed in old times in the great Indian desert.

1st.—I have to demonstrate that the Satlej (Satadru) did *not* flow out of its present course. But was running to the westward, anterior to the thirteenth century.

2nd.—That the lost river (the Sótra or Hakrá) *did not reach the sea*, but ended its course in the old Indus, near Rori.

3rd.—That the overthrow of the Sumras, and the succession of the Summas, in the "lands of Nair and Kádál" did *not* occur in the thirteenth century.

With regard to "the lands of Nair and Kádál," the Ramala of the Arab geographers. This tract is now known as the Bánger, or highland, intermediate between the desert proper, and

the existing river valleys. There is no doubt "of the local traditions which ascribe the desolation of this once "flourishing country to the drying-up of the stream by which it was fertilised."

The *depression* called the Hakrá is traced along the eastern limit of the Banger. It is a broad, rather shallow channel running in even lines, which bifurcates at latitude 22°27', longitude 72°15'. One limb proceeds westward, the other is continued southward. The Hakrá bed is not at all like the eroded valley of a great erratic river, such as the Satlej. And it was passed *unnoticed* by that great observer Elphinstone when he crossed the desert in 1808. The Baháwálpúr Irrigation Survey of 1869 determined its level to be *thirty feet higher* than the bed of the Satlej, at a point below Ballur (see sketch). The Superintendant of Irrigation "calculates that it could take down *half* the volume of water of the Satlej in flood." And he reports that "from the surface, down to spring-water level, there is *no appearance* in this locality of the characteristic alluvial deposit of the Panjáb rivers."

These are surely physical features of considerable importance in antagonism to the reviewer's theory! I shall now undertake to place the reviewer's views, and my own, in contrast on each successive point.

* From the Himalaya the fertilising waters came, and some of the tributary streams of the lost river are *still running*. But the dry bed of a large river *began only at Bullar* in "latitude 29°10'," or, more than two hundred miles *distant* from the Siwalik hills. At Bullar the numerous affluents united by means of two great arms.

It can be demonstrated that the Narra was directly continuous with the ancient course of the Indus, *above Bukhar*, whilst the Hakrá came from the east and joined the Narra, or old Indus, at an angle of about 50° (see Cunningham's map IX), and that *it ended its course there*, down to the eighth century. General Cunningham (page) 221 writes: "In the time of Timur and Akbar, the junction of the Chenáb and Indus took place opposite Uch, 60 miles above the present confluence at Mithankot." He then shows that the Indus "gradually changed its course, and *early in the present century* left the old channel at 20 miles

* The dry bed of a large river may still be traced from near the Himalaya through Bhattiana, Bikanir and Bhawalpur into Sindh, and *thence onwards* to the Rann of Kach (Rann of Cutch). The course of the river is correctly laid down in General Cunningham's *Ancient geography of India* to

lat. 27°55' long. 69°56', at which point instead of joining the Indus above Bukhar, the river *is said* to have turned southward and then westward, where its bed became continuous with the old channel generally known as Narra or Nala, which is to be traced "onward to the Rann of Kach."

above Uch, until it rejoined the old channel at Mithankot." Taking up this clue, the old channel of the Indus, called the Nálá Púrán, has been traced on the right bank of the Chenáb near Sultan-ke-Shahr. Opposite to this point, it re-appears on the left bank of the Satlej (Ghará) in the Baháwalpur territory, near the village of Baháwálpur Galúwálá. It is here *well known* as the Trúkari. The channel of the Trúkari passes S.E. of Uch, where the descendants of two saints of Bokhara and Bagdad have dwelt for over seven centuries. The Mákhdúm shows a salvadora grove which sprung up on the edge of the old river from a tooth-brush of that wood, which an ancestor stuck into the bank! The channel is known here as Hassan Dariá, it is very wide and was filled with Satlej water, from a spill in the great flood of 1871—which extended for *nearly one hundred miles*. Current tradition identifies the Trúkari with the old Indus. From Uch to Khanpore it runs S.W. thence to Naushera W.S.W., where it is known as Gorállá. Onward to Subsulkot, along Alexander's route (see Cunningham, page 253) where exists, at the *very place indicated* by Masson, a considerable mound called "Sevarae," which is supposed to be the site upon which, "according to Arrian, Alexander built another city, on leaving the confluence of the Panjáb rivers, when he sailed down the Indus to the realm of the Sogdi."

"The Sogdi or Sodræ are identified by Cunningham (page 254) with the Sodas," the people of Seorai. "It is 96 miles in a direct line below Uch "and 85 miles above Aror. By water, the distance would be, at least, one-third greater," or, not less than 120 miles, which would agree with the statement of Curtius, that Alexander reached the place on the fourth day!" The earliest record of this place is found in the Chachuámá, where "Rai Sahasi II remitted the taxes of his subjects on condition that they should raise (or repair) the earthwork of six forts, *viz.*, Uch, Matela, Seorai, Mad (or Man) Alor and Siwistan" in the eighth century. The old bed of the Indus (Trúkari or Darháká) passes under the west side of the ancient mound. Thence into Upper Sindh the channel is traced, until north-east of Rori it changes its name and is called the Narra, which was the old bed of the Indus (see Cunningham, map IX.) The old bed of the Indus from above Uch to Naushera, or about 100 miles, is shewn in the Revenue Survey map of 1873. And its *lower* course, from above Subsulkot to the Narra, was traced in 1852 by the officers who conducted the survey of the Eastern Narra, *vide* reports by Lieutenant (now Colonel) Fife, R.E., and others. The former wrote, "that the supply of water it receives sometimes leaves the Indus 100 miles higher up the country and reaches the Narra by means of a *depression*." Another officer supplies a sketch, which shows that "the Narra branches off from the Indus, near the

village of Ghosepoor" (above Subsulkot). "The bed of the Narra is said there to be in places a hundred and twenty miles broad, and in that part it bears the name of Turkurée, only taking the name of Narra at a spot much lower down." The Hakrá is called *Ráinee* in the sketches of this survey. The name appears higher up, in the course of one of its feeders, above Sirsa. The Hakrá is treated in these reports as a *drainage depression*, "*coming from the east* which joins the Gorilla or Turkarée near the head of the Narra."

The Trúkari and the Narra are thus *identified as the bed of the old Indus*, from Uch to Rori. The Hakrá (*Ráiní*) *ended its course in the Narra*, and did not reach the Rann of Kach, which is 300 miles further down! Thus verifying the tradition recorded by Todd and others, that the Caggar, Sótrá, or Hakrá, "emptied itself into the Indus between Rori Bakher and Uch." Its western limb had a shorter course (see sketch.)

*According to the above exposition, the track of the lost river has been cut short by *three hundred miles*! In consequence so large a volume of water as the Satlej conveys, would not be needed to carry the stream about two hundred miles only from Bullar to Rori. Masson noted in 1826, when describing the fortress of Phulra, that "on the north side the walls were washed by a large expanse of water." The drainage of the *few surviving tributaries* of the Hakrá are still capable, after heavy rain, *not only of reaching the point alluded to*, but of producing a running stream which fills the western channel for a long distance below the bifurcation. *Only the Western limb of the Hakrá extends to the Narra* (see sketch).

The lower drainage of the great tract, north-west from Hissar, Bikanir, and Jesalmer was also considerable. The rainfall over this tract must have been great in ancient times, especially when the "lands of Nair and Khadal" were irrigated and covered with vegetation.

From the following passage in the Mahábhárata quoted by Cunningham (page 331), we may infer that "the meteorological conditions of the nursery of the Braham race" were far more favourable for humidity then, than at the present time. He says, "the great lake of Kurúkshetrá between the Saraswatí and Dris-

* The reviewer states that the waters of all the streams combined, which come from this part of the Siwahk range, between the Satlej and Jamma valleys, could never, under any imaginable circumstances, have maintained a permanent river of such magnitude as the Hakrá for a distance of more than 500 miles

beyond the furthest point to which they reach at the time of their greatest floods.

"The sources of these tributaries being in the outer Himalayan range, they are fed by rain only, and not by melting snows, as are all the large rivers of Northern India."

hadwatí rivers, was an oblong sheet of water 3,546 feet in length from east to west, and 1,900 feet in breadth; other tanks are also mentioned, and these collections of water, we must suppose, were only drainage reservoirs fed from the outer hills and denoting a higher rainfall in the Siwalik range. Add to all this, a permanent feeder from a neighbouring large river, such as the Jamna on the east, or the Satlej on the west, and the stream of the desert would need no further help to run its even course of 200 miles into the Indus. The channel bifurcates, as already shown, and only half the volume of water that escaped from the hills, would be equal to complete its course. *Primâ facie*, there is nothing to indicate, that so powerful a current as the Satlej in flood, ever flowed over the Bânger tract. There are no signs of extensive erosion, *no river silt has been found, down to spring-water level*. The desert stream flowed evenly along, and the theory that the Satlej ever wandered over this tract is utterly untenable.

A glance at the Topographical Revenue Survey Map of 1867 will show the *close proximity* of the heads of the Saraswati and Chitrang to the Jamna, *within the Siwaliks*. And a chapter called Banpurb in the Mahâbhârât mentions the meeting of the Saraswati with the Jamna, at some distance from its course in the hills called Kâlind. It occurs where Narudmuni is preaching to Rajah Yudishter and his four brothers, on the uses of the Teerâths, or bathing places. *This establishes the supply from the Jamna*, and it also explains the reviewer's statement "that the Saraswati formerly flowed one hundred miles further than at present," also, that "it may have flowed still further south and joined the Chitrang." The lost river, undoubtedly, received a feeder from the west, at some period, which came from the Satlej, by the channel of the Naiwal, and when the two great rivers (the Jamna and Satlej) had cut their waterway permanently in their respective valleys, they withdrew their supply *and the river was lost*.

* There is much to confuse the reader in this passage. It is true that all the channels that pass down *east of Sirhind*, unite to form the eastern, or Bhatnair arm of the Hakra. But strictly speaking, none of these "diverge from the direction of the point at which the Satlej leaves the hill." One or two diverge from the

* "Between the Saraswati and the Garrah (Satlej) is a series of broad channels, most of them a mile or more in width, of which those to the west terminate in the valley of the latter river, while those towards the east, *which are the most ancient*, are continuous with the Sôtra or

Hakra. All *diverge from the direction of the point at which the Satlej leaves the hills*. Most of these are now dry, all are more or less obliterated in the upper part of their course, but most of them can be followed up to within a few miles of that stream."

bay north-east of Rupar, whose drainage enters the Satlej valley. But the sources of all these eastern streams are *in the outer or Siwalik range*. Those channels which pass to the *west of Sirhind* belong to the valley of the Satlej, and these certainly do *not* diverge from the point at Rupar.

They are the two Naiwals and the Dhund-i-Daria, and they are given out after the *river has passed the turning point* and has proceeded for a *long distance to the westward*. The Dhand-i-Daria *alone* terminates in the valley of the Satlej. It begins and ends in an old bed, whose lower course will be referred to further on. The "series of broad channels" is therefore divided in a peculiar manner, east and west of Sirhind. Let us consider them, not according to a theory, but as nature has placed them. Those on the west, come from the Satlej and flow westward. The direction of these streams is determined by the watershed of the country, *the crest of which slopes upward, from Umballa towards Rupar*. Sirhind is 21 miles *below* Rupar. There is a deep bay in the hills, north-east of Rupar, where the Satlej leaves the hills. The remarkable feature here is, *the abrupt turn to the westward*, which the river takes at Rupar in *which direction it proceeds for a long course* of about 120 miles, near the base of the hills. Several short drainage channels coming from the north-east, for a distance of 18 miles, pass across the bay, and run into the Satlej valley to the westward, plainly *showing the natural fall of the country* (see Topographical Revenue Survey map of 1867 based on the great triangulation.)

The Naiwal channels, undoubtedly, supplied the left, or, western arm of the Hakrá from the Satlej. The Western Naiwal has been traced by the Baháwálpúr Irrigation Survey of 1869 up to Middan, about 130 miles below Rupar. The Eastern Naiwal has been traced up to a point near Lúddianah, about 30 miles west of Rupar. These channel heads were given out, alternately, long after the river had *passed the point* where it *leaves the hills*. It follows then, that they were *spills*, which took the slope of the country and ultimately flowed in a *southerly direction*, and when the old river had *cut a deeper waterway for itself*, these spills dried up.

There is no evidence that any physical obstruction *ever existed* to prevent the Satlej from flowing directly to the westward by Rupar, whilst the presence of the old river bed, ending in the old Indus just alluded to, supplies a feature of practical geography to support the belief that the *natural course of the mighty Satlej was always to the westward*. The reviewer observes, "*it cuts deeply into its bed, especially where it first leaves the hills*" and it would, in consequence, be *most unlikely* to be diverted at this point. If the river had ever flowed straight over the

crest in a southerly direction, what reason can be offered for the remarkable change in its course from one point of the compass to another? It is not enough to say, "that a tendency to change their course is observed in most of the Panjáb rivers." This will account for the movement of the current over the plains. But not *even* the "curse of Puran" can be received as an appreciable reason for the quick and decided sweep to the west that the Satlej takes immediately on issuing from the hills. It ought to be considered therefore, that the permanent physical conditions which direct its course *are unalterable*, save by a geological disturbance. Nor can it be advanced that a disturbance of this nature has occurred to turn the stream, since the localities are historically too well known—and the *surviving* tributaries of the lost river are still running in their old direction.

The writer here mistakes the eastern for the western Naiwal.

*The eastern channel was, no doubt, traced near Urkara, although effaced for 100 miles lower down. But he is not aware that the westernmost channel known as Naiwal has since been traced by the Baháwálpúr Irrigation Survey of 1869 up to "near Middah," or about 58 miles *below* the confluence of Satlej and Báyás, a minor branch of this channel is obliterated. The distance below Rupar (about 160 miles) at which the westernmost Naiwal begins, shows that the old Satlej was a *continuous stream*. The head of this channel is only obliterated for nineteen miles. But this effacement at the head indicates, that it did *not* "cut deeply into its bed,"—and it was, probably, only an *inundation spill*.

†Abohar is on the Western, not the Eastern Naiwal. It is on the small obliterated branch above noticed.

The point where the two Naiwals meet is more correctly, in latitude $30^{\circ} 10''$, longitude $74^{\circ} 10''$. The Eastern Naiwal is not traceable for more than 43 miles *above* Kurralwala—it points towards Urkara. But its head from the old Satlej is also obliterated for several miles, showing that this channel, too, did *not* "cut deeply into its bed,"—and that it was only filled by overflow.

* "Of the channels continuous with the Hakrá, the westernmost, which is known as Naiwal, was found by Lieutenant Hodgson, R.E., in 1847 to be clearly defined at the village of Uikara, about 20 miles south-west of Ludianah, and half that distance from the old left bank of the present Satlej. It has since been traced some miles further towards the north-east."

† "From Urkara the Naiwal may be traced in a south-westerly direction to Abohar, which is situated upon its bank, and thence to Kurralwala in latitude, $29^{\circ} 53''$ longitude $73^{\circ} 53''$, where it is joined by another similar river-bed from the eastward which bears the same name. The people of the country assert that each of these in turn was the bed of the Satlej."

* It has been explained that *none* of the channels west of Sirhind diverged from the *same point*. The "most westerly arm of the Hakra" leaves the old Satlej one hundred and sixty miles *below the point of divergences*, whilst the easternmost of the old beds of the Satlej, the Dhund-i-Daria, had its head *one hundred miles higher up*, not in the Biyas valley, but in the old Satlej above Ludianah. How, then, is the order of precedence to be judged. Both came from the old Satlej, a long way *past the point of divergence*, one terminates in the Satlej valley which has been traced into the Indus, the other flowing at almost a right angle, "is continuous with the Hakra. The conclusion is irresistible that when both these channels were given out, the Satlej was flowing westward *into the Indus*. Yet the Naiwal fed the Hakra, which, therefore, was flowing contemporaneously with the Satlej. Is this not sufficient proof that the Satlej and the Hakra were *two distinct streams*?

† Neither the Topographical Revenue Survey of 1867, nor the Bahawalpur Irrigation Survey of 1869, show an existing channel at Bhatinda. But two obliterated channels from the south-west appear to have converged upon this point—the easternmost of which looks up towards Urkara. The channel mentioned by Mr. Davidson is in the line of Mirza Kundas Canal, which came also *west of Sirhind* (see Topographical Map above named.)

‡ The Naiwal flowed west of Sirhind and "became continuous with the western arm of the Hakra." It is a mistake to convey it *also* into the *eastern branch*, which was fed by a dozen streams all flowing *east of Sirhind*, and having their source in the *outer Himalayan range* as previously specified. If the channels on either side of Sirhind are treated as belonging to

* "Thus the most westerly arm of the Hakra and the easternmost of the old beds of the Satlej, traceable to the Biyas valley, are still definable to within 5 or 6 miles of each other. There can be no doubt that these deserted channels *diverged in succession from the same point*, and that, although they separate so widely, the same stream at different times flowed in each of them. The western branch of the Naiwal then deserted by the stream, was the last of these channels connected with the Hakra, which, therefore, finally ceased to flow."

+ "The celebrated fortress of Bhatinda is situated upon the Naiwal last mentioned. This is, no doubt, the river-bed referred to by Mr.

Davidson in 1851, as extending from the southward of Macherwara to near Tatwandi (50 miles north of Bhatinda) and thence onwards south-west."

‡ "At Kurrulwala, where these two channels of the Naiwal unite, they become continuous with the western arm of the Sotra or Hakra which, passing on to Bullur, there joins the eastern or Bhatnair branch. This, a still older course of the river, is formed by the junction of several broad channels known as Naiwal, War or Wah, Purana Daria or Gaggar, Chitrang, &c."

"Each of the first three of these is said to have been in turn the bed of the Satlej."

two separate river systems, the elucidation will be much simplified.

The Wah belongs to the eastern arm. It came from the "outer hills" and was utilized as a canal by Firuz Shah in the fourteenth century by means of "a great cutting." Its head is in the direction of the north eastern part of the bay at Rupar, which is traversed by short affluents of the Satlej. The Purána Dariá or Gaggar, the reviewer says elsewhere, "rises in the outer range and joined the Hakrá as a tributary." How then can it be said to have been a bed of the Satlej? The Gaggar once flowed down to Bhatnair and survives to attest its own independent source. Perhaps, it was formerly fed by the Chorra, whose head also leads up to the cross-feeders of the Satlej, which come from the north-east and traverse the bay at Rupar. And, perhaps, these cross-feeders were of larger volume in ancient times, when the Chorra and Wah were flowing.

* We have analysed the reasons upon which this conclusion is founded. We have found that the lost river did *not reach the sea*, and in consequence that the great volume of the Satlej could not have found waterway in the Hakrá bed. The channel of the Naiwals, which was the only tangible proof adduced, has been satisfactorily accounted for. While to oppose to this view, we have Cunningham's ancient geography of India, showing the Map of India in the seventh century, based upon reliable information to attest the westerly course of the Satlej at that early period. The political divisions in that map were defined by the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen-Tsang, whose accuracy in geographical details is acknowledged to be remarkable. Upon his information, the Satlej is given as the *northern* and *western* limits of a district (Cunningham, page 144) named "She-to-tu-lo, or, Satadru which was bounded on "the west by a *great river*, which can only be the Satlej or Satadru." Certainly, we may consider that the great pilgrim could not have so designated the Báyás, while the identity of the name of both district and river, carries conviction. Cunningham observes, (page 217) "The famous spot on the eastern bank of the "Hyphasis where Alexander halted and wept† must have been "somewhere in the *low ground* between the Satlej and the Báyás, "at a short distance above the old junction opposite Kasur and "Baridpur. For twenty miles above this point, the *courses of the "two rivers ran almost parallel* and within a *few miles of each "other*, from the earliest times down to A.D. 1796, when the

* "There can be no doubt that the Satlej, instead of turning nearly due west from Rupar to join the Báyás as at present, originally flowed in a much more southerly direction, and

that the Sótra or Hakrá is its ancient bed."

† Gibbon. Decline and Fall of the Roma Empire.

"Satlaj suddenly changed its course and joined the Bías above "Hari-ki-patan." Further in proof of the early geographical position of the river, Cunningham mentions (page 214) that "old coins, which are found in great numbers, show that Depálpúr was in existence as early as the time of the Indo-Scythians. I am inclined, therefore, to identify it with the Daidala of Ptolemy, "which was on the Satlej to the south of Labokla (Lahor)."

I must now proceed to trace the *old Satlej* which has been before alluded to. After the course of the *old Indus* above Uch had been traced, it became clear that the Satlej or Gáhrá *could not originally* have joined the Chenáb, *which ended its own course so much higher up the country*. My attention was, therefore, first directed to the *lower Satlej*. Enquiry at Uch, elicited the fact that the Gáhrá had not been known near there, until the time of Hazrat Bandagí Mahomed Ghose in A.H. 925 (A.D. 1526.) He was an ancestor of the Makhdúm of Uch. The tradition in the family recounts three subsequent fluctuations of the river before it settled in its present course. An old channel some 20 miles to the south-east was then heard of called the Badar, this was traced upward, until it was connected with a well-known tortuous deep dry channel, called the Triwáná. It begins at lat. 30° 10" Long. 73° 80" and is paralled with the *Satlaj for over 100 miles*. The Triwana is shown in the last Revenue Survey Map of 1870 from the Sirsa district, where it is called Phatpak* which seems to be continuous with the old channel above Ferozepore and Ludianah to Rugar. The Tríwáná or Hariári is traced down to the Gegrá at Khairpur. Below this, it is called the Chil and enters the Wahind, a considerable depression near Dera Báká. The course of the channel onward is well-known as boats used to pass down it within the present century. It passes south of Baháwálpúr station to Jáhr Pír and Derá Masti, then S.S.W. between Nurpur and Lahak, turning south-east of Ahmedpur, known as the Bádár, until it enters the Trúkari below Got-Channi. Two channels of a later date, below Derá Masti, have been found to the westward of the Wahind. Both these also end in the Trúkari, which agrees with the tradition current along the Tríwáná. And the Trúkari, we have seen, *was the old Indus* ! The old Satlej, therefore, did not join the Chenáb, like the modern river. And the Arab conqueror in the eighth century, who marched up from Arór to Máltan, would not have to cross it. This explains some of the *historical omissions* pointed out by the reviewer. This also explains why some geographers of the middle ages did not apply the term "Panjnad" (five rivers) to the Chenáb, which it

* A large channel called Sôtra nearly forty miles south of Tríwáná leaves the Phatpak and runs in parallel with it.

received in *later* times. There is no tradition to indicate the period that the Satlej occupied the Triwānā and Wahiūd. But it is older than the channel near Pakpatan, which is on the *north side* of the present stream, and was the principal ferry at that point in the thirteenth century. There are two ancient mounds on the old river bank, of which no traditions remain. One is called Mūndā Shahīd (Mahomed the Martyr). This hillock was taken possession of by the Mahomedans—it holds a shrine, and is covered with graves. The other mound is known as Tibbū Rai-kā (the place of the ruler.) It is situated above 50 miles north-east of Bahāwālpūr. This mound has been excavated to the depth of thirty-five feet. A foundation wall of large sun-dried bricks has been found at 32 feet below the surface. Other walls of fire-burnt bricks were found just below the surface and extending to fifteen feet. These walls indicate builders who lived at periods remote from each other. The chief feature of the place is a large pit, seventy feet in diameter and eight feet deep, dug out of the highest point of the mound, which is filled with *calcined human bones*. Was this one of the *high places of Baal*? And were the original inhabitants of "Raikā" given to practise human sacrifices? The presence of the pit full of sacrificial remains together with the known antiquity of the mound seem to confirm this view. The first dwellers on Raika were most likely Scythians, who brought with them the worship of Baal, the sun or fire god, from the banks of the Oxus. The Indo-Scythians were in possession of lower Sindh two centuries B. C., and according to General Cunningham "they occupied the Panjab and Scinde and were in full possession of the Indus valley down to the seventh century." The Political Agent at Bahāwālpūr in his annual report observes: "Below the ruins there is a depression which was most probably the main stream of the Satlej when this town was inhabited." This was written before the old Satlej was traced into the old Indus. It is a fair inference, therefore, that this was the course of the river *anterior* to the thirteenth century, that is, at the *very time* that the reviewer supposed it to be flowing in the Hakrá bed!

* No less an authority than Elphinstone† identifies the Gaggar as the Drishadwati of the Mahābhārata. The Gaggar was one of the main affluents of the lost river and it originally extended to Bhatnair. The five rivers so often named, were the existing

* "The foregoing accounts for the *absence of all mention* in the Vedas or Mahābhārata of any such river as the Gaggar, or, indeed, of any important stream between the Satadru (Satlej) and the Saraswati.

Of the five streams so frequently named, between the Indus and the sacred stream, the Satadru is always alluded to as nearest to the latter."

† Book IV, page 225.

five, of which the Satlej was one. It was *always* nearest to the Saraswati, as it is now. The Gaggar was not mentioned because it was *not* a "flowing river" like the Saraswati, which was fed by snows from the Jamna.

* This reads like self-contradiction. The writer previously stated "that the sacred stream is said to have lost itself in the sands in the time of Manu, while the *Hakrá* was flowing in the *thirteenth century*." This was written to argue that the *Hakrá* was flowing for centuries *after* the *Saraswati* had ceased to flow, while now he argues that the *Saraswati* continued to flow until the Satlej left the *Hakrá* bed. He has assured us that "some authorities have been led to consider that the *Saraswati* at one period filled the *Hakrá* bed." We now know that this was effected by its connexion with the Jamna, the tradition of which is *still preserved* in the desert.

† One of the chief affluents of the *Hakrá* is called Chitrang or Sótá. A stream higher up is called Motak Sotree, which appears to be a feeder of the Chitrang, hence the name!

The name Sótá is applied exclusively to the eastern or Bhatnair arm. The Sotra or Chitrang was one of the "several torrents" into which Firoz Tuglak, King of Delhi, A.D. 1351, diverted water from the Jamna. He did the same from the Satlej, or from the affluents of the Satlej, in the Bay at Rupar. Man only imitates Nature. It is probable, therefore, that the Chitrang and Jamna were once naturally connected. While some of the smaller gold producing affluents of the Satlej (noticed by Hwen Tshang) may have been brought down, north-east of Sirhind, to feed a dry channel.

† Tod in the "sketch of the Indian Desert" (page 294) says, "The Gaggar (Gaggar), which rises in the Siwalik, passes Hansi "Hissar and flowed under the walls of Bhatnair, at which place "they yet have their wells in its bed." This is confirmed by practical geography, Bhatnair being *above* the union of the Sótá or Chitrang with the other channels. The name Sotra, therefore, is only applied to the eastern arm of the *Hakrá* *below* Bhatnair.

§ The channels of the Naiwal are entirely silted up and obliterated.

* "The disappearance of the Saraswati is readily explained by the changes just alluded to, for that river no longer able to reach the (*supposed*) Satlej which had forsaken its ancient course, necessarily lost itself in the sands of the deserted channel, until in later times it joined the Gaggar above Munak."

† "The upper part of the *Hakrá* is called Sótá or Sutra, which is *probably* a corruption of Satodra or Satudri, the old name of the Satlej."

† "Tradition asserts that Bhatnair was re-built in S. 1102, A.D. 1045, and that the Sotra then flowed under its walls."

§ "The old beds of the Satlej referred to are more or less obliterated in their upper part by the process of silting-up, which, from the constant abrasion of the mountains, and the very much heavier rainfall, is far more active in the Sub-Himalayan tract than in the dry and level plains."

ated for several miles, in their upper part. But the "abrasion of the mountains" could *never enter* these channels whose heads are in the old Satlej, whilst the present river would intercept the drainage of the outer hills. The obliteration of the upper course of the Naiwals is proof that they were only fed by *overflow*.

* The current of the Satlej was, doubtless, *always* rapid, "especially where it first leaves the hills." And if the Naiwal channels, "so widely separated," had ever borne the current of this river, its erosive action would have cut so deeply, that when abandoned by the waters, their upper part, would not be silted up and obliterated. Especially when we consider, that the Naiwals *ceased to receive any drainage*, when the river left its old bed.

† This is outside the question. "All diverge from the direction of the point at which the Satlej leaves the hills"—and that is the point where we have sought to discover the direction of the changes.

If a fluvial diversion of *so rapid* a character (almost amounting to a *violent geographical disruption*) had ever occurred, such as the reviewer's proposition involves—and calculating at the same rate of movement to the westward, the whole Panjab would at this period be a barren waste!

‡ The tradition preserved in the desert assigns *no date* to the event. It is vague and undefined. In the annals of Bikanir (page 187) Tod refers to "a stanza which dated its deterioration from the drying-up of the Hakrá river, &c." The only date this legendary stanza assigns for the catastrophe. "is the reign of the Soda Prince, Hamir." Again, in the annals of Jessalmer (page 263) "The name of Hamir has been incidentally discovered from the trivial circumstance of an intermarriage related in the Bhatti annals. His contemporary of Jessalmer was Doosauj, who succeeded in S. 1106. A.D. 1044. So that we have a precise date assigned, *supposing this to be the Hamir in question.*"

This is the nearest approach to identify the period of the phenomenon, as will be understood further on.

* "The current of the Satlej is rapid, especially where it first leaves the hills, and the soil through which it flows is light and sandy, the stream has therefore cut deeply into it. Owing to this and to the effects of the silting-up process, the present bed of the river is much below the level of the old channels."

† "The general slope of the country intersected by these old river beds is from north and east towards the south and west, in which direction the

changes referred to have taken place."

‡ "That the lands on the banks of the Hakrá, thus became waste in the first-half of the thirteenth century, is confirmed by the tradition still preserved throughout the course of the lost river, that at this period the country was depopulated by a terrible famine, and that the surviving inhabitants took refuge in the valley of the Indus, the tract then abandoned having ever since been desert."

* Now, when we consider that Sindh was conquered by the Arabs in the eighth century, and that the Mahomedan conquest was maintained subsequently, it becomes a question how a Rajput's dynasty came to be *ruling here* in the thirteenth century? Besides which, this is a sudden shifting of the scene from the "lands of Nair and Kadal" into Sindh! The whole of the writer's story hinges upon one period, *viz.*, the drying-up of the Hakrá in the thirteenth century. And the Hakrá, we have seen, ended in the old Indus in Upper Sindh. We accordingly find in the annals of Bikanir (page 235) that, "Kailan, the elder brother of Talbahon, who was expelled by the Pahoos, was, A.D. 1200, *re-called* and installed at the age of 50 over the lands of Khadal. Kailan married into the Samma family of Jam. He possessed himself of all the Samma territory, when the Sindh river became the boundary of his dominions." The deduction is clear that *anterior* to A.D. 1200, the Bhattis had got possession of the territory, they were expelled by the Pahoos, and were re-called. Therefore the Sumras, who *preceded* the Sammas, had passed away *long anterior* to that period. This approximates to Tod's *earlier* date for the disappearance of the Gaggar or Hakrá (A.D. 1044.) The limit of the Samma territory being the Sindh river, agrees with the old course of the Indus traced through the Baháwálpúr State, and explains the old channel under the great mount of Sevarai (already noticed) which Cunningham identifies as the site of a city built by Alexander, in the country of the Sogdi or Sodre—the Sodha Rajputs. We have no need to follow the Sumras and Summas *after their migration* into the valley of the Indus. Let us confine our enquiries to our proper scene—"the lands on the banks of the Hakrá." We learn in the annals of Bikanir (page 235) that the chief town of the district called Khadal is Derrawal which was founded by Rawal Deoraj in the ninth century. Derawal or Dilawar is in existence. It is a stronghold in the desert in the possession of the Nawabs of Baháwálpúr. We have seen that Kailan (a Bhatti) was re-called in A. D. 1200 "on the death of Talbahon, who on his return finding his seat usurped, and having in vain expostulated with his traitorous son, proceeded to Khadal, of which Deorawal is the capital, where he was slain with 300 of his followers, in repelling an irruption of the Beloches." This history takes us back into the *preceding century*—during which neither Sumras nor

* The writer of the notes says, "according to the Muntakhab at Jawarikh, Hamir was the last of the Sumra dynasty, which ruled in Sindh and over a considerable portion of the desert of Mara. The Sumras

were a branch of the Soda tribe of Rajputs, and their downfall occurred in the thirteenth century, after the destruction of their lands by the drying-up of the Hakrá."

Sammas were in possession of Khadal. Their rule had disappeared, while Khadal was still flourishing. There was no connexion, therefore, between the downfall of the Sumra dynasty and the drying-up of the Hakrá. The date of that catastrophe remains unknown!

The three important points have now been discussed. Let the reader judge if the reviewer's theory has stood the test!

It remains to me to dispose of some arguments in detail.

* It will be remembered that the Satlej is supposed to have *then* flowed in the Dhund-i-Daria. Cunningham says (page 223) "The Dhand is probably the Dhamuk or Dauk, an old channel of the Satlej, which *in its lower course*, takes the name of Bhatiyári, and passing by Mailsi, Korhor and Lodran joins the present channel just above its confluence with the Chenáb." With regard to the Báyás valley—Cunningham says, "its still existing and well-defined channel joins the Chenáb 20 miles below Shajabád, and *its most southerly point is ten miles distant from the nearest bend of the Bhatiyári.*"

† The period of the first junction is unknown. Cunningham writes (page 222), "This junction is mentioned by Jauhar in A.D. 1553 and by Abul Fazl in 1596. But though the confluence of the two rivers near Firuzpur had been long established, yet even at the *latter date the waters of the Báyás still continue to flow down their old channel.*"

This fact is also mentioned in the Ain Akbari in the beginning of the seventeenth century. As a matter of fact, the Báyás was confined to its old channel, under its own name, until its final junction in A.D. 1790, "when the Báyás altogether lost its independent course and is now a mere tributary of the Satlej" (Cunningham, page 223.)

In confirmation of this statement, we know of the existence of a Banias Bandi, in which is recorded the first failure of crops on the banks of the old Báyás, *less than a hundred years ago*. Perhaps the united streams were known as Beyah, *at the place of junction*, but not below it. In proof hereof see Tod's Rajasthán (page 256.) "Kallan ruled 19 years (A.D. 1219.) He built a fort on the Boyah, called after his father Kerroh or Kerore. Kailan was succeeded by Chachick Deo, who made Marote his head-quarters, to cover his territories from the attacks of Múl-

† "The Satlej, when it abandoned the Western Naiwal, entered the valley of the Báyás, and flowed under the highland which formed its eastern boundary."

first junction between these rivers and their combined streams were henceforward known as Beyah (Báyás.)

"The application of the name Satlej to the streams below the confluence is a modern innovation, and is not to be found in old writings."

‡ "At this time, therefore (the thirteenth century), took place the

tan, which took umbrage at the return of the Bhattis across the Garrah."

Here we have the Bías and Garrah distinguished as separate rivers at the beginning of the thirteenth century! At the same time that the lands on the Hakra appear to have been flourishing, since Marot was still prosperous on its bank.

Later, Tod tells us (page 263) "that the territory bordering the Garrah was taken by Daod Khan (A.D. 1685,) and it became the nucleus of a State called after himself, Daodpotra." The Garrah is still known as Satlej (Satadru) at Pakputan, in connexion with the legends of Sheik Farid of the thirteenth century. The name is therefore not of modern origin. The river is commonly called Nili, from the confluence down to lat. 30° long. 73' where the name Ghara first appears.

* When the Sultan marched from Delhi to the banks of the Beyah, the Satlej was *flowing in its old bed, wide of Uch*, and was *not* in his line of march! Instead of being "merged in the Bías," it was flowing *into the Indus*—in its own wide valley. This is an instance of a "positive conclusion" being based on "merely negative data!"

It cannot be known when the Satlej joined the Chenáb, no more than the date of the first junction with the Bías can be known. But as Cunningham gives A.D. 1555 as the earliest recorded date for the latter, and the Makhdúm Mahomed Ghose mentioned A.D. 1526 for the former event, we may judge from the closeness of the two periods, that the changes occurred in the sixteenth century.

† By the help of the new light shed upon the subject, we can understand, that when the Jamna *withdrew its supply*, the eastern arm dried up. The drying-up of the eastern arm *even* a century earlier than the final catastrophe, is at least an argument against the *suddenness* of the calamity, so much insisted on by the writer. When it is known that the eastern arm above Bullar, measures three miles half a furlong, while the Western or

* "In the Tabakat-i-Nasiri, it is mentioned that in A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245) news arrived of an army of Mughals under Mangu Khan having reached Uch. The Sultan Alâ-ud-din marched from Delhi to drive back the invaders, and when he arrived on the banks of the Beyah the infidels raised the siege of Uch. Here the allusion is to the united streams. The Satlej is not mentioned, although the writer was with the army, that river

having then become merged in the Beyah."

† "With regard to the changes "which led to the drying-up of the "eastern or Bhatnair arm of the "Sotra or Hakra, I have been unable to fix any dates for their occurrence, but it is probable that this channel was abandoned by the stream, at least, a century before the Hakra finally ceased to flow."

Naiwal arm, is only two miles three furlongs in width, it will be admitted that the greater body of water came from the east. The drainage from the *outer hills* is considerable, many of the known channels are a mile wide, but flowing through a level, shallow valley with an easy slope, the torrents cut a broad waterway without any difficulty through the light soil. These channels continued to reach Bullar, until the Satlej from the westward also withdrew its supply, when the Hakrá finally ceased to flow. * The Hyphasis of Alexander ended in the Chenáb twenty miles below Shajabad. "Its still existing and well-defined channel" is quite *eighteen miles distant* from the *present course*, between Múltan and Baháwulpúr !

And about twenty-five miles distant from the old Satlej of Alexander's time, which flowed into the old Indus.

† We now know that the two rivers did meet, at a place south-east of Uch.

In Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India (page 217), we learn that Pliny knew of the existence and position of "the Sydrus, that is the Hesidrus or Satlej." Pliny places the limit of Alexander's career "in the territory of the Sudrakas—in Sudracis expeditio Alexandri termino." And he places the sacrificial "altars on the opposite bank of the Hyphasis or Báyás river." Also, at page 138, we read: "The expedition of Alexander terminated on the banks of the Hyphasis or Báyás, but he received the submission of Phogelas, or Phogeus, the King of the district *beyond* the river, that is of the Jalandhar Doab," between the Báyás and Satlej. At page 214, "The ancient town of Ajadhan- (Pakpattan) is situated on the high bank of the old Satlej. This part of the Doab is still known as Surátides, a name which recalls the Surakous of Diodorus, and the Sudrak of other Greek writers." At page 244, after Alexander's wound, the march of Perdikkas is traced from the eastward to "the confluence of the rivers," and the Ossadü or "Ossodioi who tendered their allegiance to Alexander" are identified with "the Ajudhya, of which the above is as close a rendering as could be made in Greek characters. Now Johiya is an abbreviation of Jodhiya which is the Sanskrit Yaudheya; and the Johiya Rajputs have occupied both banks of the Satlej from time immemorial."

With reference to Arrian's *omission* of the Satlej. Arrian

* "When the main streams of the two rivers united, the greater body of water took the present more direct course, which, probably, differs little from that of the Hyphasis of Alexander, being to the eastward of most of the old channels."

† "Arrian, Strabo and other classical writers, as well as the Arab geographers omit all mention of the Satlej when describing the tributaries of the Indus. As the two rivers did not meet till they reached the Runn of Kuch, this is sufficiently accounted for."

admits (at page 311) "that he chiefly copies from Ptolemy." He says "nothing certain is related concerning this country, beyond the river Hyphasis, for Alexander penetrated no further." Thus, he has adhered to Alexander's steps, but has not followed the eastward route of Perdikkas. He adds, "many other rivers, which, perhaps, may be longer than these, but unknown to us, may flow through this country." This explains why Arrian did not mention the Hesidrus which was *beyond the river Hyphasis*." At page 191, he discusses the relative magnitude, from hearsay, "of the two great rivers of India, the Ganges and the Indus." On the assurance of Megasthenes, these rivers discharge their waters into the Indus; the Hydraotes (Ravi) among the Cambistholi, which receives the Hyphasis (Vipasa or Biyás, among the Astrobi, the Saranges, Uranjira or Biyás) among the Necei, and the Neudrus (Hakrar) among the Attaceni, falls into the Acesines" (Chenáb.) Here we have the Biyás rendered twice by mistake, as coming from among two different people, which is suggestive of two different rivers being intended. Let us place the Hesidrus (Satløj) between the Hyphasis and Neudrus *instead of the Saranges*, and the description will be cleared up, the rivers appearing in their proper order. Arrian is full of errors, and he freely charges Curtius and other writers with inaccuracies.

* The whole of this passage can be disproved. The five rivers of the Mahábhárata, were five separate streams, of which the *Sattader (Satløj)* was one, while the Indus is spoken of as *forming a sixth*, "flowing beyond the mountain." The Chenáb below its confluence with the Satløj is commonly known as "Panjnad" *at the present day*. It was called so in the Ain Akbari in the sixteenth century, and we have the authority of Dr. Percival Lord to set against Burnes who was a poor observer compared with the former. Dr. Lord has recorded experiments upon the silt of the Panjab rivers. No. 1 "on the water of the Chenáb just above its junction with the Ghara." No. 2 "on the water of the Ghara." No. 3 "on the water of the Panjnad, after the union of the Ghara and Chenáb."

Is this conclusive? With regard to the Indus, the writer of the notes quotes Al Biruni an Arab geographer of the tenth century, who says, "so the rivers flowing from the northern side of these

* "Thus, too, is solved the difficulty in providing a place for the 'Satløj amongst the five branches' of the 'Panjnad,' which has compelled modern geographers to transfer that name from the Indus to the Chenáb. The latter has no claim whatever to this title,

"which as Burnes justly observes, 'is unknown upon its banks. The 'Panjab' or 'Panjnad' is the Indus itself. The five rivers of the Vedas and Mahábhárata were five separate streams. The application of the term to any one river appears to be of later date."

same mountains (Himalaya) when they unite near Turmaz, and from the river of Balkh (Oxus) are called the *seven rivers*." The reviewer asks, "may not these and not the seven rivers of the Panjab, be the "Hapta Hendu"* of the Vendidad?" The answer is, that the Indus at Mithankot, at the confluence with the "Panjuad" or Chenáb, is to this day known as the "Satnad" or seven rivers. The discovery of the course of the old Satlej, into the Indus, also explains why some of the Arab historians of the middle ages did not apply the term "Panjuad" (five waters) to the Chenáb, which it received in later times.

This discovery helps us to understand a confused passage quoted by the reviewer from Al Biruni of the tenth century, who clearly defined the position of the Satlej. He mentions certain other rivers and says: "*They all combine with the Sutlader below Múltan.*" The reviewer remarks, "from this, obscure as it is, one point at all events seems clear, which is, that the rivers collected from the mountains of Bhutal joined the Sutlader (Satlej)." Here, he believed, he had secured one step towards the demonstration of his theory, viz., the identity of the rivers Satlej and Hakrá. But I have now to disclose the fact that the western limb† of the Hakrá has been actually traced into the old Satlej, above its junction, with the old Indus, thus confirming Al Biruni's geography! The writer further observes that the translator has "endeavoured to make his description agree with modern geography." It is sufficient to point out that, if this had been his intention, the translator would have used the modern name *Ghórá* and not the ancient *Sutlader*.

The "Notes" next call in evidence Muhammad Kasim, the first Arab conqueror, and others, who marched up from Alor to Múltan in the eighth and tenth centuries, without meeting the Satlej in their way. Its absence from its present course is now accounted for, because it was flowing more eastward, direct into the Indus.

With reference to Al Biladuri who says, that "the Sindh after passing Alor bears the name Mihran." We have Masudi in A.D. 915, who thus describes the Indus according to Sir H. Elliot's translation (Cunningham, page 150). "The Mihran of Es-sind comes from the well-known sources of the highland from the country belonging to Kinnauj in the kingdom of Budah and of Kashmir, El Kandahár and El Tákin. The tributaries which rise in this country run to El Múltan, and

* "The Sapta-Sinhavas, or, 'Land of the seven rivers' of the Rig Veda."

† "The western limb of the Hakra recently brought down a running

"stream from some extra rain in the desert, which was diverted by a bund, a short distance only from the old Satlej bed south-east of Ahmedpur."

from thence the united river receives the name of Mihran." Cunningham says: "in this passage Tákin must certainly be intended for the hills of the Panjab. The Kabul river and the Indus both flow through Gundhárá or El Kandahár, the Jhelam comes from Kashmir, and the Bíyás and Satlej flow through Jalandhár and Káhlúr, which in the time of Hwen Thsang were subject to Kanoj. The only other tributaries of the Indus are the Chenáb and the Rávi, which must, therefore, have flowed through the kingdom of Tákin." Here, then, are the *seven rivers* (Satnad) distinguished, while the Indus "receives the name Mihran" from the confluence.

From this evidence it seems clear that the Satlej was *always* one of the five rivers of the Panjab, that it did *not* lose its name on joining the Bíyás, and that it was always one of the tributaries of the Indus. It is also clear that the Indus was known as Mihran below the confluence in the tenth century, that the Chenáb has been known for some centuries, and is still known as "Panjnad," while the Indus is named "Satnad" which agrees with the "Sapta-Sindhavas," or land of the seven rivers, of the Rig-Veda.* All this shows the *incorrectness* of the conclusions arrived at by the reviewer, *viz.*, that the Sóttra or Hakrá was the bed of the Satlej, which dried up in the thirteenth century, when its waters became diverted into the Bíyás valley. The old bed of the Satlej which joined the old Indus, probably, as far back as the Indo-Scythic period, having been discovered: and it having been demonstrated that the Ghárá or Satlej was flowing as a distinct stream, about A.D. 1200. It only remains now to clear up some points connected with the Hakrá and Nára.

† The western or Naiwal arm, is unknown as Stóra. This has recently been ascertained on the ground. The eastern is called both Sóttra and Chitrang, which agrees with both the Topographical and Irrigation Survey maps. The Hakrá does not acquire the name Wahind until it bifurcates in lat. 29°10". This name is applied to several depressions in the Baháwálpur State, it simply means *flowing* (from Wáhna, to flow) hence Wáhndá flowing.

‡ The point where the Hakrá "became continuous" with the Nára is, of course, where it ended its course in the old Indus.

* "Which re-appears as Hapta Hendu of the Zend. (Elphinstone, page 147)."

† "From the junction of its eastern and western arms near Bullur, on the frontiers of Bikanir and Bháwálpúr, the Hakrá traverses the latter state, where it loses the name Sóttra and acquires that of Wahind (river of Hind)."

‡ "Near Khangarh, on the Sindh

border, the channel turns southward, and about thirty miles south-east of Rori it becomes continuous with the old river bed marked in maps of Sindh as Eastern Nára. The Nára or Nala which also bears the names of Hakrá, Dhora, Wahind and Dahan, is to be traced from this point southward, past Amarkot to the Rann of Kach."

It has already been pointed out that the Hakrá joins the Nara at an angle of about 50° while the course of the old Indus, above Bukhar, is directly continuous with the Nara (see Cunningham, Map IX). The southern course indicated corresponds with Map IX (see page 251). "The old bed of the Indus still exists "under the name of Nara and its course has been surveyed from "the ruins of Alor to the Rann of Kach. From Alor to Jakrao, "a distance of 100 miles, its direction is nearly due south. It "there divides into several channels, each bearing a separate "name. The most easterly channel, which retains the name of "Nara, runs to the south-east by Kipra and Umrkut, near which "it turns to the south-west, and is there lost in the great Rann "of Kach." Lieutenant Fife, R.E., says,* "At Nowakote, the Nara flows in two channels, one of which is termed the "Hakrá" in this part of the country "near the Rann.

The writer of the "Notes" tells us that Hakrá "is a modified form of Sagara." We shall see further on that both the western and eastern branches of the Mihran, which formed the Delta, were also called Sagara. And it is, at least, another hint, that the waters of the Indus flowed in all three branches.

All that the reviewer writes about the formation of the Rann of Kach and the water route of Alexander to the sea, agrees with Cunningham "Map IX." The only point to consider being that instead of the Nara being an independent stream, it was the most easterly branch of the old Indus, which bifurcated at Jakrao.

The writer now quotes a legend of Sindh which, he believes, confuses two events, *viz.*, the destruction of the capital of the Sumras (Muhummad Tur), on the lower Hakrá, with the "desertion by the main stream of the eastern branch of the Indus, the Sindh Sagara or Dhora Puran." We can better understand the cause of the confusion, when we consider that both events refer to branches of the same river! The lower Hakrá of the writer, was only "the most easterly channel" of the Nara or old Indus. It also, near the Rann, was called Sagara (of which Hakrá is a modified form.) But the reviewer is here again wrong in his dates! The phenomenon of turning the stream "*above Aror*" in the Legend† is referred to the time of "Delu Rai, who governed the country between the capital and Aror."

Cunningham says (page 274), "the date of this prince is doubtful; McMurdo has assigned A.H. 140 A.D. 757 as the year "in which Chota, the brother of Dilu, returned from his pilgrimage "to Mecca, but as Mansura, which was destroyed by an earthquake *in his reign*, was still a flourishing city in the beginning

* "Report on the Eastern Nara," † Tarikh-us-Sind, vol. i, page 256. page 40. Elliot's History of India.

“ of the tenth century, when visited by Masúd and Ibn Hankel, “ it is clear that the earthquake cannot have happened earlier than “ A.D. 950,” whilst the desertion by the main stream of the Mihran, from the eastern or great branch to occupy the western or smaller branch, occurred *much later*. “ Al Biruni, in the eleventh century, describes the eastern as the greater mouth of the “ Mihran, while at the time of the invasions of Muhammad “ Tughlak and Firuz Shah (A.D. 1350 and 1370) the western “ branch, which flowed under Thatta, was the main stream.” We know, too, that according to McMurdo (Cunningham, page 280) the change in the main stream to the west of Haidarabad did not take place till A.H. 1000, A.D. 1592, “ and was coincident “ with the decay of Nasirpur (the capital) which was only founded “ in A.D. 1350.” It is important to recollect these dates, because they indicate *corresponding changes in the course of the upper Mihran, between Uch and Bakkar*. We have read that the river “ did not rejoin the old channel at Mithankot until *early in the present century*.” It can, therefore, be understood, how gradual and protracted was the action of the current before the full stream had excavated its present bed, through the limestone rocks by Bhakar. To return to the phenomenon of the Legend in the time of Delu Rai. We have seen that the event occurred, most probably, in the tenth century, which approximates to Tod’s date *for the drying-up of the Hakrá, viz., A. D. 1044*. Can we trace any connexion between these two *Legendary* events? The Legend specifies “ *the country between the capital “ and Aror,*” which, therefore, was on the course of the Narra. And it very probably refers to the *final desertion of the Narra* by the stream of the Indus which would naturally have an appreciable effect on its affluent, the Hakrá. Perhaps, that river, no longer able to reach the Indus “ which had “ forsaken its ancient course, lost itself in the sands of the deserted “ channel,” and, perhaps, this was a notable cause for the disappearance of the Hakrá! We learn from Cunningham (page 251) that “ the waters of the Indus *gradually* worked their way to the “ westward, until they at last turned the northern end of the “ range at Rori, and cut a passage for themselves through the gap “ in the limestone rocks between Rori and Bhakar. As the “ change is assigned to the beginning of Dahir’s reign, it must “ have taken place shortly after his accession in A.D. 680, and as “ Muhammad Kasim, just 30 years later, was obliged to cross the “ Indus to reach Alor, it is certain that the river was permanently “ fixed in its present channel before A.D. 711.” Although the river was fixed in its present channel in the eighth century, it is only a reasonable deduction, from the *later periods of the changes above detailed*, both in the *lower* and in the *upper* course of

the stream, that the Indus had not *finally* deserted the Narra channel until an after century. The preservation of the capital (Mansura) on the Eastern Mihran, which *was a branch of the Narra*, below its bifurcation at Jakrao, offers fair testimony that the *Upper Nara* was not entirely deserted, down to the destruction of Mansura by an earthquake, in the tenth century. Nor does it seem unreasonable to connect the final desertion of this channel with so violent a geological disturbance as the great earthquake noted in the History of Sindh.

Thus are we able to connect, with some show of reason, the two *Legendary* events, *viz.*, the drying-up of the Hakra and the drying-up of the Narra, for neither of which occurrence, can accurate historical dates be ascertained. But this possible unity of the two events enables us to elucidate some obscure allusions in the Legend quoted. The city destroyed on the lower Hakra, was called Muhammad Tur. The Narra was called Hakra, between Choondawah and the Rann of Kach* and the *lower Narra* was only "the most easterly channel" of the old Indus, which flowed east of Alor. Hence, "a strong embankment above "the town of Alor, to turn the course of the waters towards "Bhakkar," would effectually dry up the lower *Nara*, and might cause the Hakra to "lose itself in the sands of the deserted channel."

The time of Dilu Rai, we have learnt, is referred to the tenth century. When the river "was thus turned from its old course," we are told, "that the want of water ruined the lands of the tribe "of Sumra, and that the Samma tribe which had been subject "to the Sumras, removed from that country and settled near "Thatta." Thus, this Legend also approximates in date with Tod's Rao Hamir, *viz.*, A.D. 1044. The change "of the main stream from the eastern or great Mihran to the western or smaller branch," we have seen, occurred at any time between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. This change, "is said by McMurdo to have caused the fertilization of the "lands near Thatta"—to which we have also seen the "Samma tribe" in the tenth century, had removed. This partly agrees with the story on the Hakra. When that stream dried up, the *inhabitants* removed to the valley of the Indus—Sumras and Summas together. And *there* we shall find them at a *later* period, *viz.*, the *thirteenth century*: the downfall of the Sumra dynasty being deferred to that time.

The reviewer associates the drying-up of the lower course of the Nara, with the "great famine and the exodus" from the lands of the (Upper) Hakra.

* See Report on Eastern Nara, page 10.

* We have ascertained that the nearest approach to a fixed date for the disappearance of the Hakrá is A.D. 1044.

We traced the Bhattis and Pahoos to have been in possession of the lands of Khadal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—their former rulers (the Sumras) having *previously* disappeared. The re-appearance of the Sumras and Sammas in Sindh, and their dynastic succession *on another scene*, has therefore no bearing on the real story.

It is, however, curious to find these Rajputs ruling in Sindh five centuries after the Muhammadan conquest. On enquiry we find that the writer's dates have reference to a temporary usurpation of power. Sultan Julal-ud-din of Khwârasm invaded Sindh A.D. 1223.† “He fought Chengis Khan on the Indus, then he came into Sindh and went towards Dewal at Makran.” Here we discover at a glance, that the Sumras had an opportunity of attaining power during the struggle for supremacy between the Moghuls and Arabs.

Nasir-ud-din Kabacha “assumed royal dignity” and reigned from Mûltan to the seashore from A.D. 1222 to 1228 (Elliot, vol. iv, page 302). He extended his rule to Kabrasm. The Sultan Masad, A.H. 633, A.D. 1236, left Mahomed Julal-ud-din as Governor of Sindh. In H. 662, A.D. 1264 Sultan Ghias-ud-din gave over the provinces of Lahore, Mûltan, and Sindh to his son, Sultan Muhammad. In A.D. 1283 Sultan Muhammad was slain in battle against the army of Chengiz Khan—which brings us to the date of Jam Juna of the Samma tribe, “who drove the Turks out “of Bakhar and ruled all Sindh.” But this was only during the incursion of the Moghuls! “Tamashi succeeded Jam Juna. He “was taken prisoner and carried away to Delhi, but was allowed “to return and resume his Government.” In “A.D. 1296, the “Saldai Moghuls from Sistan arrived and possessed themselves of “Siwistan, (Elliot, Vol. i, page 340). “Towards the close of his “reign Sultan Alâ-ud-din despatched Ghazi Malik to expel Chengiz “Khan’s Moghuls and gave him Mûltan, Uch and Sindh in jaghir. “Khasen Khan (son of Sultan Muhammad) having watched his “opportunity, deposed Alâ-ud-din and became master of the “throne. Ghazi Malik marched up at the head of the Sindh “and Mûltan forces, expelled Khusen Khan and seated himself in “his place under the title of Sultan Ghias-ud-din. *At this time,*

* He quotes Ferishta in proof of the “Sumras having ruled at Debal or “Thatta, when the Sultan Jullal-ud-
“din invaded Sindh in A.H. 620—
“A.D. 1223. Also, that Unar, the
“first Jam of the Sammas, became
“ruler on the overthrow of the Sumra
“dynasty, and was succeeded by Jam

“Juna, who reigned in A.D. 1283,
“so that the downfall of the Sumras
“must have occurred between A.D.
“1223 and that year, having been
“preceded by the disappearance of
“the Hakrá river.”

† Tabakati Nasiri, Elliot, Vol. ii,
page 302.

"a number of the tribe of Sumra rose and possessed themselves of Thatta. Again, in A.D. 1350, Sultan Fīzoz Shah succeeded to the throne. Taghi (a rebel slave) who was at Thatta, on learning this, hastened to give battle at the head of the tribes of Sumra, Jarja and Samma."

From all these dates, we are in a position to judge that the Sumras and Sammas having migrated *at an earlier date* from the lands on the Hakrá, took every opportunity during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to rise into power in *Sindh*. And we can now understand the passage in the *Tarikh-us-Sindh*, (Elliot, Vol. i, page 256) which records, "From the year of the Hijri 700 (A.D. 1300) until 843 (A.D. 1439) that is to say, for a period of 143 years, the Hindu tribe of Sumra were the rulers of Sindh." But the reign of the Sumras in Sindh was a *posterior* event, and was quite independent of their *preceding* reign on the lands of Khadal.

With regard to the ancient importance and abundant water-supply of Sehwan, the writer's remarks agree with Cunningham (page 264), who describes the Manchura Lake, which "must have existed long previous to the change in the course of the Indus." "In all the old maps it is placed on a western branch of the river. In ancient times, however, when the river flowed down the Eastern Nara, Sehwan was not less than 65 miles distant from its nearest point at Jukrao, where it leaves the sand-hills."

In confirmation of this, Abu Rihan, A.D. 1031, in speaking of the itinerary of Sindh, he says,* From Aror to Bāhmanwā, also named El Mansura, is reckoned 20 parasangs; from thence to Loharāni, at the mouth of the river, 30 parasangs." As Mansura was only a short distance below Jukrao, where the Nara bifurcated, and it was on the river bank, it is a fair inference that the Indus was still in the Nara channel in A.D. 1031, at which period, however, Mansura "was no longer a great fortress and the capital of the country."

The reviewer now sums up under ten heads, some of which require notice.

† "The course of the old Indus between Uch and Alor has been defined.

"The ruins of Alor are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone hills, which stretches from Bhakar towards the south for about 20 miles, until it is lost in the broad belt of sand-hills which bound the Nara, or old bed of the Indus on the west. *Through this gap* a branch of the Indus once flowed, which protected the city on the north-west. To the north-

* Ancient Geography of India, "traceable from the Indus to the Cunningham, page 276. "Nara, &c."

† "4th.—There is no old channel

"east it was covered by a second branch, which flowed nearly at right angles to the other at a distance of three miles. The river gradually worked to the westward from its original bed in the old Nára. According to native historians, the final change was hastened by the excavation of a channel through the northern end of the range of hills between Bhakar and Rori."*

† The movement of the waters began higher up—between Uch and Rori. Besides which the channel of the Nára from Aror to Jakrao was "bounded on both sides by broad ranges of low sand-hills," which confined the waters in a narrow bed, and forced them through the gap above described.

‡ The secondary branches of the Nára below Jakrao, formed the Delta (Cunningham, page 282). "The most easterly channel" has been described. "The most westerly channel, which is named Purána, or the old river, flows to the S. S. West, past the ruins of Brahmanabad and Nasirpur to Haidarabad, below which it divides into two branches. Of these, one turns to the south-west and falls into the present river 15 miles below Haidarabad and 12 miles above Jarak. The other called the Gani, turns to the south-east and joins the Nára above Romaka Bazar. There are, at least, two other channels between the Purána and the Nára, which branch off below Jakrao. At this point, the sand-hills on the Western bank suddenly terminate, and the Nára, spreading over the alluvial plains, is divided into two main branches, which grow wider and shallower as they advance, until the western channels are lost in the hard plain, and the eastern channels in a succession of marshes. But they re-appear once more, below the parallel of Hala and Kipra, and continue their course as already described above." In the report of the Eastern Nára (page 39), the branches of the Nára are thus noticed. "The river, in place of flowing through one broad channel, throws out two branches a short distance above Togacha (near Jukrao). The eastern branch skirts the foot of the sand-hills supplying many of the dunds, and rejoining the main stream at Puttaee. The western branch, as far as Mittrow, flows through a sandy soil, but beyond that place it reaches the alluvial plain, where the channel disappears, and the water spreads over and fertilizes the plain for many miles, ultimately returning to the main stream." Also at page 84,

* Ancient Geography of India, page 258.

† 5th.—The slope of the country is from the Indus to the Nára, which is against the supposition that the latter channel was forsaken by the

"river."

‡ 6th.—The Nára does not form a Delta, while between Aror and the borders of the Runn, it does not approach, nor has it any communication with the Indus.

"Lieutenant Fife contemplates closing altogether a portion of the eastern branch of the Nara, and thereby depriving the dunds which it feeds, of their supply of water, excepting when in extraordinary floods, water can well be spared, and forcing the whole body of the stream into the western branch, and towards the fertile plain, extending from Mithrow to the parallel of Kippura." It was the western branch by which the Nara formed the old Delta. "The present head of the Delta (Cunningham, page 282) is at the old town of Mattari, 12 miles above Haidarabad, where the Phuleli separates from the main channel of the Indus. But in ancient times when the main stream, which is now called Purana or the old 'river' flowed past Aror and Brahmanabad to Nirunkot, the first point of separation of its waters was either at Haidarabad itself, past which a branch is said to have flowed by Miani to Trikal, or 15 miles to the south-east of it, where the Phuleli now throws off the Guni branch to the south and then proceeds westerly to join the present stream at Trikal. The true head of the old Delta was therefore, either at Haidarabad itself, or 15 miles to the south-east of it, where the Guni, or eastern branch of the Indus, separated from the Phuleli or western branch. All the old geographers agree that the Mihran divided near to and above Mansura," which was a short distance below Jakrao. "But the apex of the Delta is *not a fixed point*" as Lieutenant Wood remarked (Oxus, page 20), so that the features of the Delta are liable to change.

* Arrian also mentions (Cunningham, page 259) that Alexander allowed "his fleet of boats to continue their course down the Indus, while *he himself marched against a neighbouring prince* named Oxycanus. From the city of Oxycanus, Alexander led his forces against Sambus," who has been identified with the Raja of Sindomana. Curtius mentions that Alexander returned to his fleet. "He *marched back to the river*, where he had ordered his fleet to wait for him." As Alexander's land expedition, when "he quitted his fleet at Alor" (the capital of Musikanus), traversed the ground between Bukhar and Schwan, it is evident that the Indus was not in its present course, between those two places, and that Alexander went out of his way to take Sindomana before he reached the delta.

† Their narratives are well-known to be brief and unsatisfactory, besides which, the Hakrá was *not* so large a river as the reviewer supposed. Perhaps, the point where Alexander "left his fleet

"Arrian mentions that Alexander took Sindomana (Schwan) before he reached the Delta."

"of Alexander's historians to a large river such as the Hakrá entering the Indus," &c.

+ "7th. No allusion is made by any

"of boats to march against a neighbouring prince," was *above* the junction of the Hakrá with the Indus.

* Since the lower Hakrá was the Nara, or "the most easterly branch" of the old Indus, Elphinstone was right when he "placed Rewar and the scene of Dakir's defeat upon the Indus." The river began to flow "by Bakhar" in Dahir's reign, but there is reason to suppose that it had not finally deserted the Nara until a later period. Dáhir had made Bráhmaṇabád his capital, and Rewar was only a "residence of the King of Sindh," on the banks of a river called Wadhává. If this was identical with the lower Nara, it was only 30 miles distant from the Eastern Mihran, which could hardly have taken a native army "several marches" to reach.

† McMurdo quotes native authors to show that the western or smaller branch of the Mihran was *also* called the "Sagara" river, "which he thinks may be identified with the Sugapa Ostium of Ptolemy," which was "also the most westerly branch of the Indus in his time." (Cunningham, pages 295—299.)

"McMurdo also quotes the native authorities to show that it (Debal) was on the Ságára branch of the Indus which flowed past Bhambúra" (Barbarike). Thus we see that all the chief branches of the Indus were called Ságára.

‡ By *both rivers*, is meant the Nara and the eastern Mihran. But as the western Mihran was also called Ságára, as shown above, and as this was the nearest branch by which Muhammad Kasim could approach Nirun (Haidarabad), it was most likely the western Ságára, to which Sir Henry alluded, and not to the distant Nara.

The course of the lost river has been traced from the Hima-láyás *not to the sea*, but into the Nara (old Indus). And an old bed of the Satlej has been traced *not into the Chenáb*, but into the Indus, which was doubtless occupied by the stream in ancient times, perhaps as early as the Indo-Scythic period, but certainly *long anterior* to the first junction of the Satlej and Báyás. Whilst the period (the thirteenth century) upon which the reviewer's

* The reviewer now tries to fix the site of "Muhammad Kasim's fight with Rai Dahir" on the lower Hakrá instead of on the Indus. "He crossed the Mihran at Nirun (Haidarabad), and after several marches the army came to Jewar or Jaipur on the banks of a stream called Wadhawah or Dadhawah."

† This also was evidently the greater arm of the Mihran, described by Rukhíed-din as flowing to

"the name of Sindh Sagara."

‡ "The term Sagara being applied to both rivers has led to some confusion. Thus in Sir H. Elliot's manuscript of the Chachnámeh, the Wáhind Ságára is mentioned as the stream up which Muhammad Kasim sent his mangonels in boats towards Nirun when the Sindh Ságára, as given in the other MSS. is evidently intended."

whole story *hinges* has been shown to be incorrect. The structure of argument founded upon his theory, has consequently fallen to the ground. I feel bound, therefore, to offer another theory. There is a legendary couplet *faintly heard* in the desert, which points to a mythic stream that flowed in remote ages, *over the desert proper*, which came from *far eastward* and reached the sea—by the disappearance of which, the sand-dunes of the great desert are said to have been formed. This mythic stream is

Old even beyond Tradition's breath.

Agreeing with this description, is a river named *Márút Bredhá*, amongst the 42 rivers of India mentioned in the *Bhágwát* (chapter 19, verse 18.)

The Sanskrit *Bredghá* means a flowing river, through *Maru-Marustháli* (region of death). There is a legend in the *Addhiátún Rámàun-ud-Kanch* (chapter 3, verse 63), which describes *Rám Chandra* bending his bow at the ocean, which had at first denied him a passage; and being determined to aim his shaft at *something*, he turned at the request of ocean *to the northward*, and shot some giants who dwelt in that direction and were the terror of the country. Since that time, the river that flowed there dried up, and the earth became a sandy desert! This legend, probably, portrays the disappearance of the old desert stream by a sudden geological disturbance in the *Himá-layás*. The giants being emblematic of mountains! Now, "an attempt was made some years ago by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in an article published in the journal of the Asiatic Society, to show the possibility, that at one time, the *Jamna* on leaving the hills turned west instead of east, and crossing the desert, emptied itself into the sea in the *Scinde* direction." (*Pioneer*, October 2nd, 1874)

The legendary course of the *Márút Bredhá in remote ages* through the desert of *Maru*, seems to give coloring to this idea. My theory is, therefore, that the *Jamna* was the *Márut Bredha*! When it moved away to the east, it kept up a lingering connection with the desert by means of its known union with the *Saraswati*, and its more than probable union with the *Chitrang*—which produced *in later times*, the lesser stream called the *Hakrá*. Perhaps, the *Naiwal* channels from the ancient *Satlej* also joined the *Márút Bredhá*, at a time when the whole tract south of the *Himalayas* was at a lower level than at present

The *real* lost river of the Indian desert was, therefore, the mythic *Márút Bredhá*—not its bantling, the *Hakrá*.

ART.—VI.—THREE ESSAYS ON RELIGION.

BY JOHN STUART MILL.

THESE three posthumous essays seem to demand particular attention. They contain the concentrated essence of a wonderful amount of the deepest reflection.

The wonderful training of Mill's boyhood and youth recorded in his remarkable Autobiography, his peculiar disposition, his unwearied industry, the concentration of his faculties on the object under his consideration, his singular freedom from every shape and form of traditional prepossession, enabled him to go into his arguments almost as a disembodied spirit "all naked feeling and raw life." If Macaulay was described by Sidney Smith as a book in breeches, we might contemplate in Mill absolute bare thought. His intense desire for truth, and truth in the sense of demonstrated fact, delivered him from the "idols of the cavern, the tribe, the school, the market place, the theatre;" and brought him (as far as is possible) face to face with the problems of the mysterious universe in which we live, and which he was determined to investigate to the uttermost.

This is true of all Mill's speculations, but strikes us more than ever in these three essays published after his death, forming a curious postscript to his Autobiography. They seem to give us his last will and testament of thought. They offer to mankind the concluding results of long years of unflinching and untiring meditation—the best boon which he could bequeath to humanity—the flower and crown of human reason.

We say emphatically of human thought; for all conceptions of Divine truth, all instructions and every least shadow of assistance from any inspired Revelation, or even from any other human intellect beside his own, because admired and honoured in past ages, are resolutely and persistently excluded from the formation of his theories on the most serious problems of human life.

Man's naked unassisted thought, trained and disciplined to the utmost ability and energy, contemplates in an almost sublime isolation its own relation and the relation of all men to the universe in which we find ourselves. We see him by means of these posthumous essays* not for an hour or day but for years wrapped up in the engrossing consideration of the questions ancient but ever new; † "What is man and whereto serveth he?—What is his good and what is his evil?—God and angel, priest, prophet, philosopher, sage, let them be silent, and let me think out myself as

* *Ecc.* xviii, p. 8.

† *Ecc.* ii.

I am." We see him in his argument stand solitary, magnificent ; but we think a ruin. We hear him lift up his eloquent voice—it sweeps with surprising power over the heart, and then when you expect the most, it dies away in a strange low wail like the wind in some fallen and shattered temple of antiquity.

Is it a Manfred enunciating from some Alpine summit in words of striking eloquence, and in a sublimity of isolation the concentrated philosophy of despair? Is it a Prometheus chained upon the peak of Caucasus, the eagle rending his heart without ceasing, and yet in the extremity of agony, amid the crash of thunders and the collision of worlds, breathing still one sad sweet strain of trembling but quenchless hope? *

It is remarkable that in the last essay, and in several passages, especially towards its close (we are reminded by it of great heathen thinkers) a strange expression of hope, not apparently in perfect agreement with the logical development of his argument, comes out with surprising force.

Thus Plato in a striking image likens his philosophy to a solitary plank to which the shipwrecked mariner clings amidst tempests and waves and weariness. It is so picturesquely expressed that you seem to see the sage drifting thus away into the darkness, but uttering at the same time a cry of hope, believing that the support, however frail, will bear him at last safely to a shore of peace and haven of light.

† In the same spirit Mr. Mill declares that as appearances point to a Being[†] who has great power over us, and of whose goodness§ we have evidence, though not of its being his predominate attribute—and as we do not know the limits either of his power or goodness ; there is room to hope that both the one and the other may extend to granting us this gift of Life after death, provided that it is really beneficial for us. We have here expressions about futurity which seem to us different in tone and sound from those which meet us in the preceding essays ; and which, giving utterance to his latest and most mature thoughts, are exceedingly welcome and consolatory.

We propose then to examine these three Essays as much as possible by themselves, although it is plainly impossible to dis sever them altogether from the Autobiography, or from Mill's other writings, as *e.g.*, from his later criticism on Comte and the Positive Philosophy. Nevertheless, they constitute a whole in themselves ; they give us the important points of a theory formed in a long series of years and a long course of meditation. He himself connects them together, and in particular uses some arguments of the

* See the last Chorus in the Prometheus Vincetus.
† Page 210

1 Cf. page 240
§ Page 256.

first in the discussions of his last essay, which, indeed, would be in a great measure incomplete without the previous reasonings.

We profess at once, that while it is our purpose to observe the character and force of the argumentation of these essays, we cannot help, above all, observing in them a witness and support to the Christian faith, both in their negative and positive conclusions. We find in them the overthrow of many prevalent fallacies, and the unexpected maintenance of certain aspects of truth, too often disallowed altogether by "the destructive criticism."

It is true that the able authoress of the introductory notice, while maintaining "that the author considered the opinions expressed in these different essays as fundamentally consistent,"* nevertheless implies that some discrepancies may seem to remain after a really careful comparison between different passages, and again that "they must not be regarded as a connected body of thought." But although the first two essays were written between the years 1850 and 1858, while the third was written between the years 1868-70, yet the author, in the third, two or three times appeals to and applies his arguments in the first essay; and although he does not mention the second by name, yet he is evidently carrying out and defining the exact idea of the utility of religion which is the subject of that second essay. We think, therefore, that we are fully justified by the author himself in regarding these treatises if not as a connected body of thought, yet as presenting us with a most interesting development of thought on the subject of religion, and as supplying the main links of the chain of reasoning which guided him to the conclusions at which he arrives.

It is certainly possible that a further study of the works of a later date, such as that of Mr. Darwin and others, might have in subsequent revisions, modified the opinions expressed in the Essay on Theism. But it is evident from that Essay itself that he had fully and maturely (after his constant practice) considered the bearing of their views on this particular question. We, therefore, have no hesitation in treating these three essays as containing a distinct and emphatic expression of the author's mind on the particular subject of religion, and, as is said in the Introduction, "the carefully balanced results of the deliberation of a life-time."

The first essay is entitled Nature. Mill begins by a careful discussion of the meaning of the word, and attacks the fallacious or indistinct employment of the term. He objects with great justice to the employment of the word Natural, as implying in itself excellency in the ideas which it is used to designate. The

word may be applied to the total phenomena of the universe, either including *volition* or excluding it. He shows the extreme importance of settling clearly whether we include or exclude that idea. He also demonstrates the futility of condemning Art in comparison with Nature, and elsewhere strikingly expresses the weakness of the notion that nothing but mere benevolence and goodness, in the common sense of kindness, are exhibited in the case of the world in which we live.

There is a grand but terrible passage in which he depicts a different view of Nature from that taken by what may be called the Rousseau school.

"* In sober truth nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another, are Nature's every day performances. Killing—the most criminal act recognized by human laws, Nature does once to every being that lives; and in a large number of cases after protracted tortures such as only the greatest monsters whom we read of have purposely inflicted on their living fellow-creatures. Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyr, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of Nabis or Domitian never surpassed. All this Nature does with the most supercilious disregard of mercy and of justice, emptying her shafts upon the best and noblest indifferently, with the meanest and worst, upon those who are engaged in the highest and worthiest enterprises, and often as the direct consequence of the noblest acts; and it might almost be imagined as a punishment for them. Everything, even that which the worst men commit either against life or property, is perpetrated on a larger scale by natural agents. Nature has Noyades more fatal than those of Carrier. Her explosions of firedamp are as destructive as human artillery. Her plague and cholera far surpass the poison cups of the Borgias. Even the love of 'order' which is thought to be a following of the ways of Nature is in fact a contradiction of them. All which people are accustomed to deprecate as 'disorder' and its consequences is precisely a counterpart of Nature's ways. Anarchy and the Reign of Terror are overmatched in injustice, ruin, and death, by a hurricane and a pestilence."

Such are some extracts from this remarkable account of Nature, but the total cumulative force of the whole denunciation spread over several pages ought to be felt in order to appreciate the tremendous plea against the mere benevolent view of Nature.

He then discusses the justifications or excuses for the maintenance of that view. It is said that "good comes out of evil." He then replies that, evil might be said in like manner to come out of good ; but he, with just discrimination, points out that this balanced antagonism is by no means the general tendency of either phenomenon. On the contrary both good and evil naturally tend to fructify each in its own kind, good producing good, and evil evil. It is one of Nature's rules, and (as he strangely expresses it) part of "her habitual injustice" that* "to him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Hence he condemns strongly the writers on natural theology who have exhausted the resources of sophistry to make it appear that all the suffering in the world exists to prevent greater, that misery exists for fear lest there should be misery.† But if again it is replied that the goodness of God (viewed as the Author of Nature) does not consist in willing the happiness of His creatures but their virtue, and hence that the universe if not a happy is a *just* universe ; he points out that this does not get rid of the difficulty. He answers with the old enigma that the wicked often prosper and the good often suffer. He reminds us that the necessity of redressing the balance has been deemed one of the strongest arguments for another life after death.

Hence, he draws the remarkable inference that "not even on the most distorted and contracted theory of good, which ever was framed by religious or philosophical fanaticism, can the government of Nature be made to resemble the work of a Being at once Good and omnipotent."

Thus he arrives at what, perhaps, may be called one of the most peculiar and startling of his conclusions. He maintains that if there be any author of nature, we must recognise a limitation to His power. There must be either something like the Matter or *kylé* of Plato and antiquity, or some opposing power, which is a limitation to the power of the beneficent Being. Hence also, as he argues afterwards, we perceive why design, and an "economy" in the Patristic sense, may be required for the carrying out the beneficent ends of the good Being. This revival of the ancient Zendic notions, or of the contest between Ormuzd and Ahriman, is surely very noteworthy.

There are striking and we may say classic passages of a similar character in Mill's earlier writings. They have been considered † "both in thought and expression a complete contrast to the ordinary tone of Mr. Mill's disquisitions attempered as they generally are between benevolence and expediency." "Mr. Mill

* S. Matt., vol. xiii, p. 12.

† Page 36.

‡ Philosophy of Natural Theology, (Jackson) p. 176, note, and p. 224.

when his moral sentiments asserted themselves, felt these certainties as elements of his inner life. Rather than worship a Being whose unknown moral attributes fell beneath, not the dictates of utility, but the purest instincts of his own inmost morality, he goes on to declare that he is willing to suffer the horrors of eternal death."

* "I will call," says Mill, "no Being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a Being can sentence me to hell, to hell I will go."

In an able article on Mr. Mill's death, a critic says:† "It is impossible to read Mr. Mill's works with any attention, and in particular to look with intelligence on the latter part of his career, without seeing that by temperament he was essentially religious; but that, as far as positive doctrine went, his mind was an absolute blank. We believe that it was this sharp contrast between theory and feeling which drove him into the schemes for the improvement of the world which have been exposed to so many, and in some respects, well-founded objections. Having to love something, and being as it were chained down by his own logic to this world and this life past, present, and future, he struggled to make a sort of religion out of man as he might come to be after centuries or millenniums. Humanity, progress, a realization of all the ideals at which his theories pointed, these were his divinities:

"If he had consistently followed out his own views, if he had carried out his Benthamism with perfect consistency, the result would have been too hard, too grim, too dismal for his eager and sensitive heart. Hence came the faltering, the inconsistency, the romance of his later days."

This is a powerful and just criticism, and the ideas underlying it appear to gain new strength from these essays published after his death, in the last of which especially, the sympathetic expressions of the critic seem to be finding their realization.

"He bore a burden common to many. If he bent under it, it was not because his thought was less, but his sensibility was greater. When he died, one of the tenderest and most passionate hearts that ever set to work an intellect of iron was laid to rest. May he rest in peace, and find if it be possible, that his knowledge was less complete than he supposed, and that there was more to be known than was acknowledged in his philosophy."

The beginnings of the desired dawn seem to us to be shining out especially toward the close of that essay upon Theism which is, as we said, by far the most touching and interesting of the three. Without these the impression would have been like that left on us by the "Lucretius" of Tennyson, rayless and overwhelming.

† The comparison is well grounded, for it has justly been

* Mill on Hamilton, C. III, *ad-fin.* † See "Poets of Roman Republic,"

† *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 10th, 1873, by Sellar, p. 254.
quoted by Mr. Jackson.

observed that "the views of Lucretius as to the natural origin of life, and the progressive advance of man from the rudest condition, by the exercise of his senses, and accumulated experience—his denial of final causes universally, and specially in the human faculties—his resolution of all our knowledge into the intimations of sense—his materialism and consequent denial of immortality—and his utilitarianism in morals—all present striking parallels to the opinions of one great school of modern thought." Allusion is here evidently made to the school of Mill; but then as in Mill so in Lucretius the idea of law in nature implies the further idea of power. It leads up necessarily, although this is not consciously realised by the Roman poet (as it seems to us it was not clearly by Mill), to the wider and higher idea of will. "This conviction of the universality and certainty of law, although antagonistic to the popular religions of antiquity, is no way inconsistent with the convictions of theism."* The mind of Lucretius was in one sense a *religious* mind also. "The higher conception of God was neither consciously accepted nor consciously denied by him. There is through all his poem a pervading solemnity of tone, as of one awakening to the consciousness of a great invisible power in the world. There is an inconsistency between the mechanical view of the universe which his understanding accepts, † but which is not acquiesced in by the higher speculative faculty which combines the feeling of the imagination with the insight of the reason. His belief is not atheistic nor pantheistic, it is not definite enough to be theistic. It is rather the twilight between an old and new faith."

How many of these strange and noble inconsistencies seem to be almost word for word like the later ideas of Mill!—how much like that twilight between the old and new is the state of mind represented to us in this last essay of Mill! In both the ancient and the modern grand Sceptic the condition is really higher than that put into the dying lips of the great Epicurean bard by Tennyson—

O Thou ! ‡
 Passionless bride, divine Tranquillity,
 Yearn'd after by the wisest of the wise,
 Who fail to find thee, being as thou art
 Without one pleasure and without one pain,
 Howbeit know thou surely must be mine.
 Or soon or late, yet out of season, thus
 I woo thee roughly, for thou carest not
 How roughly men may woo thee, so they win.
 Care not thou !
 Thy duty ? What is duty ? Fare thee well.

* Page 274.

† Page 280.

‡ Tennyson's *Lucretius ad-fm.*

The last essay for these reasons is, as we observed, by far the most touching and interesting of the three, though, perhaps, less perfect in style, and not so completely worked out in expression as the preceding ones. Before, however, we discuss its argument, it is necessary to glance over the second, on the utility of religion; because in it those yearnings of the soul which have been spoken of, began to take shape, and to utter more or less articulate cries, while at the same time, the "Dualistic" view comes into greater prominence." In this earlier treatise* also he pronounces far more strongly in favour of the "religion of Humanity," than he would have done after his criticism on Comte with its grand and half-contemptuous pity had modified probably unconsciously his own previous conception of it.

He maintains the essence of religion to be* "the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires toward an ideal object, recognised as of the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire." He considers this to be fulfilled by the religion of Humanity in as eminent a degree, and in as high a sense, as by the supernatural religions in their best manifestations, and far more so than in many others.

This curious abstraction "Humanity" is, perhaps, the most singular object of adoration ever proposed for the worship of mankind. The idea of self-sacrificing duty, simply for duty's, or of benevolence for benevolence's sake, is conceivable, and grand, and, we believe, at the bottom of this philosophy, where it has any base at all. But the idea of "humanity," i.e., of the abstract human race as a motive of action is, we must say, almost comical. Hence also, as has been seen, the mere abstract idea has had to be linked to some concrete and flesh and blood Ideal of the female sex which has made it painfully ludicrous.

With this abstraction Mr. Mill unites the Buddhist idea of Annihilation as by no means unlikely to be the supreme good.† It has, indeed, been questioned whether this is the theory of the Buddhist creed.‡ But, although some authors deny it, Burnouf, Hodgson, Max Müller, Mr. Spence Hardy, B. St. Hilaire, Bishop, Bigandet, and others recognize it as the opinion of the Buddhist sages—and that it is so not only for the Initiate but for the masses (at least to some extent) we can ourselves bear witness. For we remember in a Burmese village seeing some boys in one of the kyongs or monasteries prostrated apparently in deep devotion. We questioned an intelligent and well-educated Buddhist who was with us what they were engaged in, who informed us that they were praying. We asked to whom? After a pause he said "nobody;"

* Page 109.

‡ Neibbhan or Nirvana.

† Page 121.

and "for what?"—the answer was "nothing." The idea of the Buddhist young man was that the little devotees were indeed praying, but to nobody and for nothing. It is strange how extremes meet. The Buddhist child must *pray*. He seemed to think this perfectly natural, but he can pray to Nobody, and for Nothing. The ablest and wisest of philosophers cannot do without religion, but he may have an abstract Non-entity for the object of his worship, and Annihilation for the summit of his desire.

The third essay is entitled Theism. It discusses first the evidence for the existence, and then for the attributes of such a Being as God. This brings us into higher and pleasanter regions of thought. He first considers the argument of cause and effect. He dismisses at once as altogether useless the *a priori* arguments as they are called. They seem to us, indeed, much more worthy of consideration than he allows them to be. The notion that there must be some corresponding reality to the idea of perfection within us (perfection embracing the idea of existence) is not the more *petitio principii* that he imagines it to be. It may not be conclusive, but neither are the arguments, which he recognizes as valid, allowed by him to be certainly conclusive. The fact is that, as has been lately felt, it is in the convergence of the evidences, and their consequent accumulation of force, that the strength of natural theology especially consists. However, the *a priori* theories of Des Cartes, Leibnitz, (we might add the names of Anselm and S. Augustin) on these questions, do not come into the scope of our discussion. They are summarily dismissed by Mill, and his views are the matter under review.

I.—What strength has the argument, that the idea of causation implies a First cause? It should, indeed, be at once observed that the latest able reasoners have fully proved that the step from the notion of a series or chain of causes and effects to that of an Originator of that series differs, not in degree, but in kind from the previous generalizations. This seems felt, but is not clearly expressed by Mill. He observes, indeed, that with the modern theories of the Conservation of force, we have to recognize a permanent as well as changeable element in nature, and that this permanent element (as far as experience testifies) has no beginning, and therefore no Cause. If it be said that force implies volition, and that volition implies mind, and that the human mind implies a perfect creative mind, he denies the applicability of this reasoning to the facts of nature. He seems to us to eliminate the *facts* of our mind, or conscious will, too much from the province of experience, although in one place he states them to be our only certainties.

The idea of Origination in the will and in the mind of man is one of these facts, and this apparently is what gives us the real

idea of an original self-existing cause. We feel that we have in some sense a power of origination. It is true that we must, as Bacon observes, "obey nature that we may command her." But the results of human thought and will, the railroad, the electric telegraph, and all the whole realm of applied science and art, are felt to be in some sense original—and give us by analogy, and an analogy of experience, our only idea of a real originating power. How much more must this hold good in moral matters. Mill, however, concludes that the first cause argument is in itself of no value for the establishment of theism.*

He then considers the old argument from the Consent of mankind—or if not, of all of the wise and great among men: but this again is insufficient, because grounded on no experimental evidence. The argument from Consciousness follows. This we have already seen that he has rejected; this he denies that the subjective idea implies the reality of the objective idea. There does not follow a corresponding reality outside the human mind.

He then turns to that argument which he alone recognizes as having any force, *viz.*, the famous one from Design—and he takes the noted instance of the eye, and discusses briefly but powerfully the evidences of design in the eye—and he treats it as an inductive argument of some force.† "There must be some connection by way of causation between the cause which brought these elements together and the fact of sight. Therefore not sight itself, but an antecedent idea of it,—that must be the efficient cause."

To this argument he allows weight, but he considers it weakened by the theory of the "survival of the fittest." Nevertheless, making the necessary allowances, he infers that the adaptations in nature afford a "large balance of probability in favour of creation by intelligence." This is, however, (as, indeed, it is generally esteemed) no more than a probability, still it is probability. This is a weighty and remarkable declaration. The importance of the smallest probability, in a matter of such moment, has been demonstrated by Butler in his Analogy. We have never seen his reasoning refuted.

Mill advances then to a further important matter, *viz.*, the question what *attributes* are we warranted, by the evidence which nature affords of a creative Mind, in assigning to that mind.

His depth and originality of thought show themselves especially in the consideration of this subject. His conclusion appears to us very different from, and superior in logical power, to those theorists who would exclude altogether any notion of the Supernatural. Take perhaps the last utterance on this point by this school. "It is manifestly our first duty,‡ as it should be our supremest pleasure

* Page 153, ὁ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τὸν τὸν
ναὶ φημεν, Arist. Eth. Nic.

† Page 171.

‡ Supernatural Religion, II. 294.

to apprehend, as clearly as we may, the laws by which the Supreme Being governs the universe, and to bring ourselves and our actions into reverent harmony with them, conforming ourselves to their teaching, and learning wisdom from their decrees. Thus, making the Divine will, our will we shall recognize in the highest sense that God is ever with us; that His good providence controls our slightest actions; that we are not the sport of Satanic, malice, nor the victims of fitful caprice, but are eternally cared for and governed by an *omnipresent immutable power* for which nothing is too great, nothing too insignificant, and *in whose Divine order a fitting place is found for the lowest as well as the highest in the palpitating life of the universe.*" The words which we have italicised are those which in Mill's view give an idea of the universe which revolts his judgment.* Such a Being would seem to Mill almost as if the blasphemous flattery of Lucan were fulfilled and a Nero exalted to the dominion of the universe. He maintains that the very idea of Design implies limitation, and excludes omnipotence. We have already seen what nature becomes in his opinion under such a view—and surely his opinion is far more coincident with the facts of experience.

One groan of pain, one tear in a baby's eye, seems to us to contradict that simply optimist notion of nature and nature's God. Eliminate the supernatural, and nature by herself becomes a great crushing machine exterminating pitilessly all who come beneath her sway.

How then does Mill describe God? "A Being of great but limited power, how or by what limited we cannot even conjecture, of great and, perhaps, unlimited intelligence, but perhaps also more narrowly limited than His power; who desires and pays some regard to the happiness of His creatures, but who seems to have other motives of action which He cares more for, and who can hardly be supposed to have created the universe for that purpose alone."

Thus we are brought to the next great question of religion—a future life—Immortality.† Once for all we must say it is impossible to abstract or condense Mill's arguments satisfactorily. Each sentence is a world of thought, each conclusion an elaborate epitome of volumes. We can only give the results as he expresses them. He thinks that from natural theology there is no evidence in favour of immortality.

But,—and this is most observable,—he recognizes the possibility of Miracles, he allows the possibility of Revelation; of course under many limitations and conditions, and almost as if the consent was extorted from him by his truth of character, and force of logical

* See Lucan's *Pharsalia* I. 40.

† Page 196.

insight. Therefore he next discusses Revelation; he does not (as so many now do) fling the idea away with contempt. On the contrary he allows it to be not improbable, though still uncertain, that a Revelation has been given.

Here we have another most important acknowledgment, taking again into account the argument of the immense practical consequence of even the slightest degree of possibility in such a matter.

If, then, he declares that the whole domain of the Supernatural is removed from the region of Belief, he yet establishes it in that of Hope—using there the word Belief in the sense of certainty from demonstration. It follows that we should nobly labour for perfection, and be fellow-workers with this divine Being.* Moreover, he declares that “this idealization of our standard of excellence in a person is quite possible, even when that person is considered as imaginary. But religion since the birth of Christianity, has circulated the belief that our highest conceptions of combined wisdom and goodness exist in the concrete in a living Being, who has His eyes on us and cares for our good.”

He goes further: “the most valuable part of the effect on the character which Christ has produced, by holding up in a Divine Person a standard of excellence and a model for imitation, is available even to the absolute unbeliever and can never more be lost to humanity. For it is Christ rather than God whom Christianity has held up to believers, as the pattern of perfection for humanity. It is the God Incarnate more than the God of the Jews or of nature who, being idealized, has taken so great and salutary a hold on the human mind.” We do not use the words in the same sense with Mill, nor do we own the disagreements which he maintains; but surely we have here a grand, and perhaps, half-unconscious witness to “the inheritance of faith” in which we live. We cannot imagine any real limit to the divine power or wisdom except such as He himself ordains. But Mill is true to himself. So in these words we surely hear echoes of Divine truths: “We are saved by *Hope*, but hope that is seen is not hope.”† “The creature is made subject unto vanity not willingly, but by reason of Him that subjecteth the same in *Hope*.” “The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.” There is an ordered march design and purpose in the movement of the universe. There are other ends beside the mere display of beneficence in that world which is ‡ “to the praise of the Glory of His Grace, wherein He hath made us accepted in the Beloved.§ Having made known to us the mystery of His will

* Page 250.

† Eph. i 6.

+ Rom. viii. 24, and viii. 30, and see whole passage.

§ Eph. i. 6-9.

according to His good pleasure which He hath purposed in Himself that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth even in Him." There is the command as the result of our mercies, to be "fellow-labourers with God." Christ goes on "conquering and to conquer," and the white robed armies follow after in order and array similar to His. Life is a warfare, and "to him," *He says, "that overcometh will I give to sit with Me on My throne, even as I overcame, and am set down with My Father upon His throne." Surely we have here the practical solution of the enigmas of life corresponding to that which philosophy desired and dreamed of. But the subject would require a volume.

We cannot enter into Mr. Mill's ideas of the contradiction between the Old and New dispensations, between the Synoptic evangelists and S. John, between the Gospel of Christ and that of Paul. But while embracing the full faith of Revelation, the heart must be cold which cannot enter into and sympathise with the difficulties and trials, the noble aspirations and purposes, which amidst some great discords, make up a grand hymn of life out of the most antagonistic materials. What else could have been expected from so powerful and burning a mind, cast from the first dawn of its intellectual life into so tremendous and inexorable a mould, than some such sublime self contradiction?

Is it even presumptuous to follow the soul going out into that future in that ill-defined but quickening hope—to imagine how that eagle eye may at last sink, and that daring forehead bow, and as the full light of truth shines out behind the veil, how the spirit may at last recognise in all the fulness of Godhead and Manhood, Him whom, however imperfectly, he regarded as his ideal. When the great truths rise up before him in all their majesty, may not the great Sceptic, like the sceptical but penitent Apostle, be ready to fall down and worship crying "my Lord and my God?"†

* Rev.

† S. John, xx. 28.,

ART. VII.—THE BRAHMA SAMAJ. (*Independent Section.*)

- 1.—*Brahmic Intuition.* By the Rev. S. Dyson : 1866.
- 2.—*The Brahma Samaj Vindicated.* 2nd Edition : 1868.
- 3.—*The Brahma Samaj of India : A Lecture delivered at Dehra Doon :* 1870.
- 4.—*Deism and Theism ; or, Rationalism and Faith :* 1869.
- 5.—*Essential Principles of Brahma Dharma :* 1873.
- 6.—*The Unreasonableness of Brahmanism.* By B. L. Chandra, 2nd Edition : 1873.
- 7.—*Brahmic Dogmas, in five Parts.* By the Rev. S. Dyson : 1874.

THE writings, whose titles we place at the head of this article, extend over a period of several years, and form important stepping-stones along the recent history of the Brahma Samáj in India. We do not propose to enter into a detailed criticism of any of these writings, but shall devote some attention to the subject with which they all profess to deal. The Brahma Samáj is, in some respects, the most important, indigenous, religious movement in India, and its future history must be a matter of considerable interest to all reflecting minds. All friends of progress and of truth would like to see the supporters of this movement taking a position in their native land worthy of those who profess to be seekers after and promoters of the truth. It is admitted on all hands that if the millions of India are to be civilized, it must be through the influence of reformers who have sprung up from amongst themselves. The influence of foreigners may do much in the way of stimulating and directing the efforts of the people of India ; but it is only the efforts of the people themselves which can be effectual in bringing about such a change as can deserve to be called a national regeneration. We propose to direct our reader's attention to the present condition of the Samáj, and to offer some reflections which may enable those who have not paid much attention to the subject to get an intelligent view of the Bráhmīc position, and may, perhaps, be of some service to the Brahmists themselves.

When the Brahma movement was first brought prominently before the public, a great deal of hope was entertained as to its future advance on the road towards truth ; but now the novelty of the movement has departed, public interest in it has flagged and people are not so sanguine as to the good which it is destined to accomplish. A great deal of work, however, has yet to be done

in India, and the Brahma Samáj has it in its power to do a large share of that work if it only has the sincerity and the honesty and the life which are necessary to the accomplishment of anything truly great.

The permanence and vitality of any movement depends to a great extent upon the *truth* intellectual and moral involved in it. For notwithstanding the widespread depravity of human nature, there is in the human mind an inherent love of truth; and any system will naturally continue amongst men in proportion to the amount of truth contained in it. It is a matter of importance therefore to the supporters of any system or movement that they should examine carefully the nature of their foundations, to see whether they have a basis which is really capable of supporting their superstructure.

The most vigorous attack against the Brahma system which has been made has been conducted by the Rev. S. Dyson, and is to be found in the various pamphlets of which he is the author. That learned and able writer has examined both the basis upon which Brahmanism rests, and the superstructure of dogma which has been erected upon it. There is a nervous vigour and sharpness in Mr. Dyson's style of writing which is not likely to conciliate those whom he attacks, and which also renders it difficult for them to return a satisfactory answer. He has carefully studied the principles of Brahmanism, and brings to his criticism of those principles an accurate knowledge of European philosophy and theology, a firm but reasonable belief in Christian doctrine, and an earnest desire to forward the interests of what he believes to be the truth in opposition to what he believes to be error. Consequently those, whose principles he is criticising, need not expect, and do not obtain, any quarter in the attack which he conducts. Whether this attack will cause any modification of their principles remains to be seen; if it leads them to examine more carefully into the foundations of their faith, good service, we hope, will be done to them, to India, and to the cause of truth.

The stand-point from which Mr. Dyson criticises the Bráhmīc basis and dogmas is that of a moderate Christian orthodoxy. Assuming, as nearly as possible, his point of view, we propose to examine the principles of the Brahma Samáj, referring where necessary to recent publications concerning them. And we shall find it convenient to divide our examination into two parts, in the first of which we shall examine the foundation on which Brahmanism professes to rest, and in the second we shall consider the superstructure of intellectual or ethical doctrine which has been erected upon that foundation.

In "Essential Principles of Brahma Dharma," published in 1873 under the authority of the Brahma Samáj, the source of the

Brahmic principles is thus described: "The true scriptures written by the hand of God are two—the volume of nature, and the natural ideas implanted in the mind. The wisdom, power, and mercy of the Creator are written in golden letters on the universe. We know Him by studying His works. Secondly, all the fundamental truths about God, immortality, and morality, are established in the constitution of men, as primitive and self-evident convictions. Intuitive faith is the root of Brahmaism." This statement of the basis of Brahmaism is but slightly different from that which has appeared in their previous publications. The works of God in the universe are added to the intuitions of the human mind as the revealers of the nature and will of God. But it is admitted by everyone, whose opinion is worthy of consideration, that the objects and wonderful contrivances, and laws of nature speak to us of God *only after* we have imposed upon them conceptions of God taken from our own minds. No human being ever saw God in the universe, until his own imagination put his conceptions of God into the universe. This addition, then, of the works of the universe as the basis of Brahmaism does not extend that basis in the slightest degree. And we are thus free from the necessity of bestowing any further consideration upon this extension of the Bráhmic foundation.

The principal basis upon which Bráhmists attempt to establish this faith, called by them intuition, has been ably and thoroughly examined by Mr. Dyson in his pamphlet upon "Brahmic Intuition," and we shall not attempt in our short space to discuss the subject as fully as he has done. There are few words of the vocabulary of philosophy which have been so much abused as this favourite of the Brahmins, intuition. Almost every philosopher and theologian will admit that we have certain amount of intuitive or immediate knowledge. Certain objects and certain relations are known to us immediately, and our knowledge of them is our only guarantee of their existence and character. But it requires the greatest care joined with a considerable degree of critical ability to enable one to distinguish between that knowledge which is intuitive and that which is inferred, derived or complex. The uncritical common sense of the older writers of the Scottish school, as Reid and Stewart, included amongst the "original principles of our constitution," many elements which have no more right to be called original than our present belief in the sphericity of the earth. That eloquent Frenchman Victor Cousin, who has written more nonsense about spontaneous convictions, original principles, *et cetera*, than any other modern European writer, declares to be intuitively known to him, what Sir W. Hamilton, who is by no means behind hand in the number of his primary intuitions, does not admit to be known at all. But we must confess that we

have seen nowhere else such utterly reckless statements regarding the alleged contents of our intuitions as are to be found in the Bráhmic writings. . . . "All the fundamental truths about God, immortality and morality are established in the constitution of men as primitive and self-evident convictions." (*Essential Principles*, p. 2.) Really this is more than might have been expected even from an exuberant oriental imagination. Surely, if all this is given to us in "primitive and self-evident convictions," we ought to expect as little difference of opinion amongst men regarding "God, immortality, and morality" as we actually find amongst them regarding the principles of geometry. But we should say that not even a Brahminist with all his oriental extravagance would venture upon the assertion that there is as little difference. We may, perhaps, have misread the Bráhmic "*Essential Principles*." We observe the statement is made regarding *fundamental* truths. And possibly the truths regarding God immortality and morality which are *fundamental*, are very few in number and simple in their character. But this statement is taken from a little pamphlet entitled "*Essential Principles of Brahma Dharma*" and we naturally conclude that the principles contained in it are intended to be included in the class of "primitive and self-evident convictions." On the first page of this pamphlet we find: "God is the first cause of the universe. There was nothing before. By His will and creative power He created all objects and beings, and He upholds them as their primary power and life. He is spirit not matter. He is perfect, infinite and eternal. He is omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient, all-merciful, all-blissful, and holy. He is our Father, Preserver, Master, King, and Saviour. He is one without a second." The next paragraph gives us the Brahminists, "primitive and self-evident convictions" regarding immortality. "The soul is immortal. Death is only the dissolution of the body; the soul lives everlastingly in God. There is no new birth after death; the life hereafter is only the continuation and development of the present life. Each soul departs from this world with its virtues and sins; and gradually advances in the path of eternal progress while realizing their effects."

Now we are not at present concerned with the consideration of the *value* of these opinions regarding God and immortality, or their coincidence or difference with the corresponding doctrines of other religious systems. What we wish to point out is, that if all these "convictions" are given amongst the intuitions of the Bráhmic consciousness, either they must mean something different by the word intuition than is meant by it in the philosophical writings of the present day, or their minds must be differently constituted from those of the rest of mankind, or they are so loose and inaccurate in their reasonings or their language, that it is a waste of time

to engage in discussion with them. As far as our present argument is concerned, it makes little difference how the generally received doctrines regarding God and immortality originated. No one, whose opinion is worthy of consideration, believes that such doctrines as those quoted above from "Essential Principles" are "primitive and self-evident convictions" of the human mind. Christians believe that the doctrines which they hold regarding God and immortality" have been *revealed* at different times and in various manners during the past religious history of the world. Many who do not adopt the orthodox Christian view, and have given much attention to the history of religious opinions, believe that the current doctrines regarding God and immortality have gradually *grown up* out of cruder and more primitive beliefs in accordance with the ordinary laws of human mental and social progress. Amongst European philosophers and theologians there are many who place great importance upon intuition as a source of knowledge. But we know of none who, adopting such a crude uncritical method as that of the Brahmists, heap together in delightful confusion such a number of doctrines currently received amongst civilized people, and stamp them all with the common brand of "Bráhmie dogmas"—"primitive and self-evident convictions."

There can be no doubt but intuition is a most important source of knowledge, and a system of philosophy or theology which ignores it must be essentially defective. But those who claim more for intuition than can be maintained, only injure the cause which they are endeavouring to advance. And we would counsel the Brahmas, if they think our counsel worth listening to, to examine more carefully and critically the basis of their belief, and not to bring contempt upon such an important source of knowledge as intuition by crediting it with such a multiplicity of religious beliefs as they have collected together in their "Essential Principles."

II.—In proceeding briefly to review some of the "Bráhmie dogmas" we first give Mr. Dyson's classification which evidences a thorough and careful study of Bráhmie writings. "The doctrines of Brahminism thus comprised within the range of our enquiry will be classified as follows:—

I.—Doctrines of Brahminism distinctive *in themselves*.

II.—Doctrines of Brahminism distinctive *indirectly, in regard of the warrant on which they are professedly accepted*.

III.—Doctrines of Brahminism which are *verbal caricatures of supernatural facts and doctrines of Christianity*.

I.—Belonging to the first class we have, among others, the following dogmas, professing to be as Bráhmie principles, statements of (1) *facts* and (2) *facts which are "primitive and self-evident convictions."*

1. The supernatural altogether is *an impossibility*. This

sweeps away at one stroke both the facts and evidences of Christianity.

2. Prayer for spiritual blessings is efficacious, but prayer for physical blessings is *not*.

3. Forgiveness of man's sins by God is an impossibility.

5. Repentance is the punishment of sin, and no other is possible.

6. No sinner can be punished till he is conscious of his sin, and this consciousness depends upon his own free will.

8. Repentance which brings us back to God is the only atonement.

10. Hence, as every sinner must be adequately punished, *i.e.*, every sinner must adequately repent, therefore, every sinner must be saved. Punishment, repentance, and salvation are all the same process regarded from different points of view.

II.—Under the second head there are :—

1. The Unity, Personality and Perfections of God.
2. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.
3. Man's immortality.
4. The Christian doctrine of creation.

III.—Under the third head we have :—

1. Bráhmīc "Unity in Trinity."
2. Bráhmīc "Incarnation ;" Bráhmīc "Revelation," Bráhmīc "Scripture," Bráhmīc "Inspiration," Bráhmīc "Kingdom of God," "Gospel," "Regeneration," "Redemption," "Atonement," &c.

These various doctrines are collected by Mr. Dyson chiefly from the lectures and addresses of Babu K. C. Sen delivered in England and in India. The most astounding fact connected with them is that they are all held to be self-evident and intuitive convictions of the human mind. And in consequence of the Brahmists holding this perfectly insane position, Mr. Dyson obtains an easy victory over them. The position of the Brahmist appears to be something like the following. They have been awakened from the darkness and superstition of Hinduism by coming into contact with Western intelligence and life. They belong to a proud and sensitive nation, and are unwilling to acknowledge the intellectual and religious benefits which have been communicated to them from without. They are especially unwilling to acknowledge in Christianity the source of the moral and religious enlightenment by which they are being influenced. They consequently wish to establish for themselves an independent basis on which to build the intellectual, moral and religious truths and principles which they have succeeded in imbibing.

They have read some of the popular European philosophers, such as Cousin, and are fascinated with their eloquent declamations about eternal truths and self-evident convictions. They have read some of the popular free-thinking theologians and are delighted with the assistance which they give them in their attacks upon orthodox Christianity, and in building up something which will be distinctive of themselves. Familiar as we are with the loose inconsequent thinking and the declamatory tendencies of young Bengal, we can easily understand how, out of these elements, there should proceed the incongruous medley of "dogmas" which Mr. Dyson so severely criticises.

Without entering into a detailed review of Mr. Dyson's criticism of the Bráhmie positive dogmas, we propose to refer briefly to the Bráhmie doctrines regarding (1) The Supernatural, (2) Prayer, and (3) Divine forgiveness.

1. The Brahmists are by no means alone in denying the possibility of the supernatural. Various classes of thinkers have made the same denial for various reasons. Spinoza and the pantheists have denied the possibility of the supernatural upon the ground that God is immersed, as it were, in the universe, forming an essential element of it, working in all its forces in accordance with its laws, and consequently incapable of interfering with it *ab extra*. This position we can understand, and are able to put ourselves intellectually into the stand-point of those who maintain it. But this is not the position of the Brahmists. They profess to believe in a personal God, the Creator and the Governor of the world.

There are others again who do not exactly deny the possibility of the supernatural, but who affirm their disbelief in it upon the ground that the uniform experience of mankind has led to such a strong belief in the uniformity of law, that the human testimony adduced in favour of the supernatural fails to shake the opposing belief. This is the position of many modern scientists whose minds have been engrossed with the study of physical phenomena, where law is seen most clearly to prevail. But it cannot for a moment be pretended that the Brahmists ground their denial of the supernatural on this basis, since they belong to a race notoriously inexpert at physical sciences, and, moreover, they profess to ground all their doctrines upon the self-evident principles of the human constitution. We do not at present express any opinion as to the possibility or impossibility of the supernatural; we simply point out that we do not see any reason why the Brahmists should deny its possibility. They profess to base their doctrines upon the principles of the human constitution, and we do not know of any of these principles which, apart from experience and reasoning, could possibly be the foundation of such a denial.

Moreover, they believe in the existence of a personal God, not immersed in the universe, but the Creator and Governor of the universe; and we find ourselves incapable of understanding the mental constitution of those who, from this stand point, conclude that the supernatural is impossible. We should recommend the Brahmists to seek for greater consistency in their system of doctrines.

2. The Brahmists deny the efficacy of prayer for physical blessings, but admit its efficacy for spiritual blessings. They base this denial and this admission upon the self-evident convictions of the human mind. At the same time with this denial and this admission there is held the existence of a personal God who loves the rational beings whom He has created.

Now, in the first place, we fail to see how they can consistently deny the one and admit the other. We are not aware of any self-evident conviction which makes such a distinction between the physical and the spiritual. In fact these two elements of our nature are so intimately connected that even in our advanced period of the world's history we sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between them. And certainly in more primitive conditions of human society we find no trace of the presence of the self-evident convictions of the Brahmists. Primitive man seeks chiefly after the physical, and has not the slightest doubt but his deity hears and can answer his prayers. And as we trace the history of man and reach more cultivated and enlightened times, we find certainly changes in human conceptions of God's nature, but we do not see the working of those intuitions to which the Brahmists appeal. As long as men continue to believe in the existence of a personal God, who is the Father of His rational creatures and the Governor of His universe, there appears no sufficient reason why they should limit His power or His godness in the way in which the Brahmists do in their doctrine of prayer.

And as a matter of fact those who deny the efficacy of prayer, implicitly deny the existence of a personal God and Father. If there exist a being independent of the universe who holds to men a relation something analogous to that of a father to his children, there appears nothing in the nature of the case or in our mental constitution to forbid us asking Him for any blessings, physical or spiritual, which may be for our good. If the Brahmists, therefore, wish to be consistent, they must modify *either* their doctrine of a personal God *or* their doctrine of prayer.

3. According to the Bráhmie writings, divine forgiveness of human sin is impossible. This also is based upon the fundamental convictions of the human mind. But the connection between the basis and the super-imposed-doctrine we fail to see. The Brahmists, in imitation of some western writers, are fond of inveighing

against the opinions, supposed to be held by Christians regarding divine anger and divine forgiveness, as being anthropomorphic and unworthy of God. Anthropomorphism is the bugbear of many who wish to differ from ordinary received conceptions of God's nature. But those who ridicule anthropomorphism should ask themselves the question whether it is possible in any other way to form conceptions of God at all. God is not directly known to us, and we can only form conceptions of that which is not immediately known by clothing it with forms taken from the known. Our own human nature is the highest and noblest nature with which we are directly acquainted; and when we attempt to think of the Creator and Governor of the universe, it appears to us that we can do so most worthily by forming our conceptions after the model of the highest order of beings with which we are acquainted. We may and ought to be ready to admit that our conceptions thus formed are imperfect and inadequate; but if we try to think of a personal God at all we can do so in no other way than in that way which is stigmatised as anthropomorphic. A purified and reasonable anthropomorphism is not only the highest and best form in which we can conceive God, but it is the *only* way in which we can conceive *God as a personal Creator and Father*. If, then, we are to retain our belief in a personal God we cannot give up anthropomorphism in some shape or other. Nor are the Brahmists free from anthropomorphism in the conceptions of the deity which they present in their writings. They represent God as a *personal Being* who is filled with *love* to all the creatures of His hand. Now, here is unquestionably a *human* feeling attributed to God; but with a strange inconsistency the correlative feeling which gives to love its meaning is denied to Him. God is capable of loving, but is incapable of being angry. Upon what self-evident conviction this distinction rests we are not aware. We have been taught that there are certain relative terms which have a meaning only with reference to one another; and that there are certain relative feelings which similarly depend upon one another. And we feel ourselves incapable of understanding the meaning of the word love or of the thing either, without comparing it with its correlative.

We are perfectly willing to admit the difficulties in which we may be involved by anthropomorphism, but the very essence of our conception of God *as a personal Creator and Father* involves anthropomorphism of some kind or other, and if we retain the one we must retain the other also.

These considerations show the inconsistency of the Brahmists in denying the possibility of divine forgiveness of human sins. And we would seriously and candidly repeat our counsel to them to seek both for truth and for consistency. We are ready to

acknowledge the advance which they have made upon the currently received opinions of their orthodox Hindu brethren ; and if they are really sincere and earnest in seeking after truth we wish them every success. But unfortunately there is too manifest in their writings that inflated self-conceit and self-assertion which is the characteristic of shallow and superficially educated young men, and which is the most effective bar to all real progress.

We have now completed all that we intend to say regarding the Brahmic movement and Mr. Dyson's controversy with its promoters. There are many details of this controversy to which we have not alluded, and for which we must refer the reader to Mr. Dyson's pamphlets and the various Brahmic productions. We have brought out what appears to be the most salient points in dispute between the Brahminists and their critic, and given our own view regarding them. We conclude by expressing our hope that the young men of Bengal, who are being rapidly introduced to western thought and culture, will seek after truth with sincerity and earnestness, and will embrace it when found ; and especially that they will cultivate that humility and teachableness of spirit which is, perhaps, the most essential requisite for the attainment of both truth and goodness.

J.

ART. VIII.—POLITICAL ECONOMY AND FAMINE RELIEF IN BENGAL.*

THE science of Political Economy has seldom had so much to answer for—or perhaps we ought rather to say, has seldom being so unjustly burdened with a responsibility which does not belong to it—as in the discussions of the past year on the subject of Famine Relief in Bengal. We all know that a similar fate has befallen, at some period of its history, nearly every one of those sciences which, like political economy, are distinctly of modern growth, and of which consequently the precise limits and scope have not been examined and ascertained by the controversies of centuries. Geology, for instance, within the memory of all of us has been currently credited, alike by scientific and by unscientific men, with the power and the will to upset many of those traditions of Biblical belief which Englishmen have inherited and fondly cherished; and we well remember a time when not a few feared to enter on the study of this most fascinating science, lest its knowledge might undermine their faith. Happily, we have long ago learnt that the testimony of the rocks is really God's own witness to the truth of the Bible. A man now-a-days is in no danger of being charged with inconsistency when he avows himself to be at once a geologist and a Christian; and geology may fairly claim to have become, in some points, an interpreter of the Divine oracles. Other instances of a like nature will readily occur to the mind of every

* Since this paper was written, Sir Richard Temple's Report on the Famine has appeared—a Statepaper of greater interest both to the student of political economy and to the philanthropist than any that has ever been published in India. As a record of marvellous difficulties gradually overcome by calm and provident statesmanship, backed up by indomitable resolution and energy, it reads in many parts like the *Anabasis* of Xenophon or some of the Peninsular *Despatches*. We believe that the unanimous verdict of the civilised world on the Famine-relief measures of 1874 will be one of unqualified approval, and that the account of the campaign will be received in time to come as that of the most glorious triumph of the British name in the

cause of humanity and civilisation; but, however this may be, we are quite sure that no true Englishman will be able to read the story without a thrill of national pride. It is satisfactory to us to find that not one word of that which we have written in this article needs alteration in consequence of the new evidence and the more perfect light thrown on the subject by Sir Richard Temple's narrative. Had it been in our hands before we commenced to write, we should have drawn from it many new suggestions and arguments, and a most valuable mass of illustrative matter; as the case stands, we have thought it best to content ourselves with numerous references and quotations in the form of foot-notes.

thoughtful reader. The late Archdeacon Pratt, in a work of considerable originality and acuteness,* dwelt at length on the pertinacity with which mistaken notions about the irreligious or immoral tendencies of scientific research retain their hold on the public mind; and attributed it (if we remember rightly) to the reluctance of many high-minded and religious men of science to dabble in the muddy waters of polemics. Something of the same kind must, we imagine, be the reason why we have heard of late so much of that hard and over-cautious side of political economy that would forbid all Government action in famine relief, for fear of certain possible evil consequences; and so little of the broader and more liberal teachings of the same science, that would strengthen and stimulate that action, for the sake of certain good results at least equally possible. We would fain see the cause of humane liberality† in this great national matter

**Scripture and Science not at variance.* By J. H. Pratt, M.A., F.R.S.

†We speak here boldly of *liberality*. We may possibly be told by cynical critics that the term is not applicable to the expenditure of a Government which dispenses public money as the trustee for the public, and must therefore be just, not generous, in its use of the trust-funds. But we speak only of that liberality (which is indeed the truest liberality) which measures an outlay not absolutely, but by its results—which sows liberally to reap liberally. The only fundamental difference between private liberality and public liberality lies in the fact that in the one case the harvest may rightly be, and often is, reaped by persons other than the sowers; in the other case, this cannot often be. As a rule, the harvest of public liberality ought to be reaped by the public; and the generosity of a Government, if it went beyond this, would generally be not liberality but dishonesty and a breach of trust. But even here, it must be remembered, that the phrase *the public* is to be taken in the most comprehensive sense of the term. It is not, for instance, to be restricted so as to include only *actual* tax-payers; every subject is either an *actual* or a *possible* tax-payer, and has an equal claim to consideration in either case—the tax-payers pay the taxes on

behalf of themselves and their fellow-subjects.

Again, it is not absolutely necessary that the harvest of which we have spoken be a material harvest. Take for example the twenty millions nobly spent by the English Parliament on the emancipation of the slaves. It is probable that one of the results of that measure has been the actual loss to the nation of a far greater amount than that represented by the mere vote; for West Indian property has been depreciated and West Indian trade well-nigh ruined by it. And yet who will deny that the national gain in honour and a clear conscience has much more than made up for that loss? It may be noted, too, that even in such cases—where no material gain is looked for—liberality is usually, like honesty, the best policy, even from the lowest point of view. It requires no great stretch of faith, in those who have investigated the question of the general relative value of slave-labour as compared with free-labour, to believe that the West Indian Islands will at no very distant date return to more than their former state of prosperity; and at any rate the English nation has the consolation of knowing that, if we have lost so much money by emancipating our slaves, the Americans have lost far more (in the disastrous Civil War) by retaining theirs.

taken up by abler pens than ours; and we doubt not that it will be, both here and in England. But we feel that it behoves every true and earnest student of political economy—every economist who honestly believes that his favourite science is not really obnoxious to the charges of short-sighted inhumanity and selfishness brought against it by M. Comte and his followers—to speak out boldly, and clear it as far as may be from the damaging connexion with the veiled Malthusianism* and heartlessness of the *doctrinaires* by whose mistaken teachings it has of late been discredited. It is in this spirit and with this view that we venture to submit to the public the following remarks on the relief-measures adopted in Bengal during the recent distress. Though they contain nothing that is original or even novel, it is hoped that they may not be entirely without their use at this time, in helping to maintain the cause that is the right, because the good and just one. They are, at any rate, the results of careful and earnest thought on the part of a patient observer, who, though neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the relief operations, has watched with the deepest interest the whole progress of those operations from their inception to their recent glorious issue.

The past year has seen, in the provinces constituting the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, one of the grandest struggles and one of the most brilliant triumphs ever chronicled in the annals of civilisation. The year came in dark with the shadow of an

for a time, and have come to the same pass at last.

The fact is, the theory of the "trusteeship" of Government is one that is very liable to be misapprehended; it is far better to regard the Government as the incarnation of, rather than the trustee for, the people at large. We should accustom ourselves, in discussions like the present, to think of the body politic as an individual; and then it will be obvious that the Government may rightly do that which we should applaud in such an individual.

* We wish to guard ourselves against the danger of being supposed, by the use of this word, to impugn the justice of the doctrines that are usually (though not quite correctly) supposed to have been first taught by Mr. Malthus. As long ago as the time of good old Master George Herbert, the value of some efficient check on population was clearly recognised by philosophers; though

they were (even in those simple times) hardly more agreed than their successors are at present, about the way in which the check may be legitimately applied. The theory is, however, stated plainly enough in a curious apophthegm in the *Jacula Prudentum*. All that the Haileybury Professor did was to determine more clearly the proportion between the rate of increase of population and that of subsistence, and to point out the advantages of certain moral restraints on over-population. But it is the fate of the political economist to be held responsible, in vulgar estimation, not only for the general accuracy of the laws laid down by him, but also for the misery or crime that may be caused by the unseasonable application of those laws to cases beyond their true scope; and hence, we believe, the epithet *Malthusian* has already acquired, in popular language, the meaning in which we have used it.

impending national calamity, the prospect of which was enough to chill the hearts of the stoutest workers, and almost enough to sober or soften the most thoughtless and the most cynical idlers. The workers were warmly, and even fiercely, disputing amongst themselves as to the precise strength of the resources with which the country would enter on her great trial, and as to the probable extent of the danger. On the other hand, as it was in the days of Noe so it has been in our days; the triflers and the cynics pooh-poohed the whole matter, or counted the economic gain of a rapid diminution in the numbers of a redundant population. Even in this camp, indeed—if one might judge from the utterances of the newspapers and from the talk of the dinner-tables—there was perceptible a wide-spread and ill-concealed uneasiness; but men paltered with their consciences, and smothered all feelings of responsibility in a matter of great public moment, by unscientific appeals to the science of political economy, or by throwing all responsibility on the Governments of India and Bengal. All were, indeed, agreed that it was the duty of the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor to see that the millions died not, as they had died in Orissa in 1866. We do not remember to have read in any paper, Indian or English, or to have heard from any person, a single statement that could possibly be construed into an admission that the Government would be held blameless if any great loss of life were to occur. “But,” says A., “Government must not sell, much less give away, grain; for that would be interfering with private trade, and though Government can do more than one merchant, if cannot do nearly as much as all the merchants combined.” B. declares: “It will never do for Government to provide means for employing and feeding paupers: for that would be to demoralise the people—and the limit of pauperism will only be reached when there is no other class left, capable of paying the taxes to support a nation of paupers.” C. adds that (though no lives are to be sacrificed, *bien entendu*!) “if we once begin this sort of thing, there will be no end of it; there will soon be a perennial famine, for the whole people will refuse to work if they are saved from starvation by a paternal Government; and the only really efficient check on population being lost, the whole produce of the land of India will soon be insufficient to support its teeming population.” D. concedes that “there may possibly be no harm in the Government bringing grain from a distance to the scene of scarcity; but is certain that the possible loss on such an operation should not fall on the public revenues, for this would be in effect to tax the frugal for the support of the improvident.” E. sapiently declares that “it is the plain duty of the Government, not to *relieve* famine, but to *avert* it, by irrigation-works, by roads,” by this and that plan; when we ask “and in the meantime?”—E. is

silent, or declares that there ought not to be any "meantime" in the question—which certainly does not dispose satisfactorily of the fact that there *is* a "meantime," and that the "meantime" is for the present the most important consideration.

And so on through all the rest of the letters of the alphabet. Each one showed clearly enough that the Government ought not to attempt any remedial operations in a case of actual famine; and some of the transcendental arguments brought forward would have equally discouraged preventive measures. Even the least violent of these anti-humanitarian philosophers refused to approve of Government action, until such proof of its absolute necessity had been adduced as could not possibly be obtained until after the event, when all remedial measures must have proved futile. And yet not one dared say plainly, that our rulers would be held blameless, in the sight of God and man, if a large loss of life were to occur in consequence of the "scientific" inaction which was so persistently urged upon them. In other words, these philosophers could not but perceive that the scientific laws, of which they were the apostles, must become dumb and inoperative in the actual presence of the Angel of death mowing down the millions of the people; that, in such an extreme case, laws repugnant to humanity are also repugnant to common sense and therefore untrue; and yet, with the blindness of fanaticism, they were unable to see that the mere possibility of such a contingency proved their boasted laws to be not eternal and immutable verities as they appeared vainly to suppose, but nothing more than mere formulæ—as rigidly exact in themselves as the most perfect mathematical formulæ, but functions of many variables, and therefore depending for their value in any particular case on the particular values of the variables. We will briefly endeavour, for each of the formulæ cited above, to assign their true value to the variables, and in that way to evaluate the formulæ themselves.

It is not necessary for us here to do more than refer to the caution, that should be impressed on the minds of all young students of political economy, that that science, when it teaches us the laws that regulate the increase of wealth, does not necessarily recommend us to go immediately and increase our wealth, either as individuals or as communities, in accordance with those laws and regardless of all other considerations. When Mr. Malthus urged the necessity of public attention to the law that, other conditions being the same, the material prosperity of an advanced community will largely depend on the efficiency of the checks on population, he neither wished nor expected his readers to go straightway and exterminate their neighbours, to emigrate *en masse*, or even to submit to a life of celibacy for the good of the public. He neither wished nor expected any Govern-

ment to countenance or even to permit offences against humanity on this score. That the teachings of his school have not been without their due effect on English legislation and administration, is proved by the existence of an Emigration Commission; that they have not been allowed to over-ride the claims of humanity (which, indeed, they were never intended to over-ride) is shown by the great system of Poor Law relief which is maintained in England, with the applause of all, at a cost of something more than eight millions annually to the rate-payers, or an addition of about twelve per cent. to the ordinary taxes of the country. We say nothing here of the vast machinery of the Friendly Societies and Trades Unions, which is sustained by the working-classes alone by self-imposed taxation, partly with similar aims; though the recent development of this machinery has done much to deprive the taxation of its voluntary and provident character, and has therefore tended to assimilate it to a poor-rate levied only on labourers. It will be readily seen that the bulk of the annual expenditure under the Poor Law in England is open to all the censure that has been directed against Famine Relief in Bengal; and yet it has not shown any tendency to increase beyond all limit, nor are the poorest classes as yet utterly demoralised by its operation. It is true that the system does not allow the surplus population to be cleared off, so that the ship of the State may be (to use a now famous simile) "like a frigate cleared for action." It is true that it does not say to the poor man, 'Fortunate or unfortunate, provident or improvident, you shall die if the time of scarcity comes on you before you are provided with a sufficient reserve to meet it.' In a word, it does not conform to the hard and fast letter of the law, as laid down by our friends the doctrinaires;* and yet it has produced none of the ill-effects of which we have heard so much of late. Hear what the *Westminster Review* says of the present working of the Poor Law in England:—

Archbishop Trench, in his work on English synonyms, defines pauperism, in distinction from "poverty" and "indigence," as the "being maintained in idleness by public charity"; and he speaks of that charity as "forced."† No doubt this reflects the generally realised conception of a pauper, varying to the mind's eye through every shade, from sturdy ruffianism to the feeble-

* And something might be said in answer to these *doctrinaires*, even granting their own hard and fast law. Sir Richard Temple (*Famine Report*, page 63) points out that "dominating all these considerations there is the moral principle that it is, in the last resort, the duty of Government to save the lives of its people;" but he also takes care to show that "the loss of life and the diminution in

production which must have ensued," if the Famine had been allowed its course, would have far more than counterbalanced the economic advantages of a heavy mortality, on which the pseudo-Malthusians are so fond of harping.

† Archbishop Trench here speaks with that intolerance of pauperism which befits a political economist.

ness of emaciation. But maintenance in idleness, the typical pauperism, in short, of public disgust, could hardly, we think, be traced in the following analysis of the pauperism reported for July 1st, 1873. Total number receiving relief, 822,000, composed as follows:—

Children under 16	275,838
Aged and infirm adults permanently incapacitated from working	381,468
Adults, lunatics, &c.	50,284
Total unable to work	710,590
The balance is made up as follows:—	
Women (most probably widows)	87,408
Adult males (most of them suffering from temporary sickness)	22,338
Total of those temporarily unable to gain a living	109,646

The small remainder consists of vagrants, many of whom may be honestly seeking a better market for their labour and require a little help by the way.

This is the true rendering of the terrible account of English pauperism. The money cost is great, but the class supplying the paupers itself contributes to their keep.* The moral turpitude is small; for no direct responsibility can fairly be held to attach to seven-eighths of the entire number, and something may be said to redeem the bulk of the residue.

If Archbishop Trench's definition of pauperism be correct, the term "pauper" is wrongly applied to the whole 822,000 persons receiving relief; for there is nothing on the face of the returns to show that to more than 1,339—the number of adult males relieved *on account of want of work*—could the statement "maintained in idleness" be applied. Children under sixteen are not moral agents in the eye of the law, lunatics are clearly exempt; and as Society is not yet prepared to proclaim that "age is unnecessary," or that infirmity is a crime, Society ought to tolerate with a good grace what cannot be prevented.† Limiting our judgment to the direct issue of want, while freely admitting that precision ought to have been exercised, and that responsibility attaches to collateral relationship, we yet cannot condemn widows struggling to support a family when suddenly deprived of the support which naturally comes from the labour of the husband and father. Nor can we visit harshly the temporary helplessness of a workman when actually prostrate with sickness; or justify the passing-by on the other side, when even a trades-unionist, or an advocate for shortening the hours of work, is struck down by calamity or makes a false calculation of means to an end.

Such is the character of Poor Law relief in England at the present moment, after many years' experience of the present law, and after the lapse of centuries during which it has been held to be an established and unquestionable rule of English polity, that no Englishman shall be allowed to die for want of food. We have quoted the account at length to show that, in England at any

* With our land-revenue and our salt-tax, who will say that "the class supplying the paupers" in a Bengal Famine, does not "itself contribute to their keep?"

† If this statement is true, our ultra-Malthusians in Bengal are evidently at variance with "Society"; they will doubtless say, "so much the worse for Society."

rate, a system of national assurance against starvation may be worked without either demoralising the people, unduly extending the limits of pauperism, destroying private charity and providence, or taking away all checks on over-population.

We shall, doubtless, be told that the circumstances of India are so widely different from those of England, that the same rule cannot be applied to the two countries. We shall be told that India is far poorer than England, and therefore less able to maintain the strain on its finances; that famines are of frequent occurrence in India, whilst they are almost impossible in England, where even widespread distress (like that of the cotton districts during the American Civil War) can only very rarely happen; that the English are a particularly independent race and therefore not easily demoralised, whilst most Indians are exactly the reverse; that, for a similar reason, the encouragement of habits of frugality and prudence is not of the same importance in England that it is in India; that the perennial stream of colonisation that flows forth from England more than carries off all excessive population, whilst Hindus are singularly averse to emigration. We will endeavour presently to meet each of these objections in turn; and to show that the differences between the two cases are differences of degree, not of kind—that the same general principles apply to both, though possibly greater difficulties attend their application, and consequently greater care is required in the settlement of details, in the one case than in the other. It is sufficient for us here to have shown that, in one country, at any rate, a system of national assurance against starvation has been worked with great success, and with none of those evil results which have been predicted of Famine Relief in this country; we must now proceed to notice the general principles upon which such a system must be worked to obtain this success.

These general principles are laid down broadly, but with sufficient precision for our present purpose, by Mr. Mill in that chapter of his *Political Economy* which treats of the *Limits of the Province of Government*. We will take leave to quote at length the passage bearing directly on our subject:—

Apart from any metaphysical consideration respecting the foundation of morals or of the social union, it will be admitted to be right that human beings should help one another; and the more so, in proportion to the urgency of the need: and none needs help so urgently as one who is starving.

The claim to help, therefore, created by destitution, is one of the strongest which can exist; and there is *prima facie* the amplest reason for making the relief of so extreme an exigency as certain to those who require it, as by any arrangements of Society it can be made.

On the other hand, in all cases of helping, there are two sets of consequences to be considered; the consequences of the assistance itself, and the consequences of relying on the assistance. The former are generally

beneficial, but the latter, for the most part, injurious; so much so, in many cases, as greatly to outweigh the value of the benefit. And this is never more likely to happen than in the very cases where the need of help is the most intense. There are few things for which it is more mischievous that people should rely on the habitual aid of others, than for the means of subsistence, and unhappily there is no lesson which they more easily learn. The problem to be solved is therefore one of peculiar nicety as well as importance, how to give the greatest amount of needful help, with the smallest encouragement to undue reliance on it.

Energy and self-dependence are, however, liable to be impaired by the absence of help, as well as by its success. It is even more fatal to exertion to have no hope of succeeding by it, than to be assured of succeeding without it. When the condition of anyone is so disastrous that his energies are paralyzed by discouragement, assistance is a tonic, not a sedative: it braces instead of deadening the active faculties; always provided that the assistance is not such as to dispense with self-help, by substituting itself for the person's own labour, skill, and prudence, but is limited to affording him a better hope of attaining success by those legitimate means. This accordingly is a test to which all plans of philanthropy and benevolence should be brought, whether intended for the benefit of individuals or of classes, and whether conducted on the voluntary or on the Government principle. In so far as the subject admits of any general doctrine or maxim, it would appear to be this:—That if assistance is given in such a manner that the condition of the person helped is as desirable as that of the person who succeeds in doing the same thing without help, the assistance, if capable of being previously calculated on, is mischievous: but if, while available to everybody, it leaves to every one a strong motive to do without it if he can, it is then for the most part beneficial. This principle, applied to a system of public charity, is that of the Poor Law of 1834. If the condition of a person receiving relief is made as eligible as that of the labourer who supports himself by his own exertions, the system strikes at the root of all individual industry and self-government; and, if fully acted up to, would require as its supplement an organized system of compulsion, for governing and setting to work like cattle those who had been removed from the influence of the motives that act on human beings. But if consistently with guaranteeing all persons against absolute want, the condition of those who are supported by legal charity can be kept considerably less desirable than the condition of those who find support for themselves, none but beneficial consequences can arise from a law which renders it impossible for any person, except by his own choice, to die from insufficiency of food. That in England, at least, this supposition can be realized, is proved by the experience of a long period preceding the close of the last century, as well as by that of many highly pauperized districts in more recent times, which have been dispauperized by adopting strict rules of poor-law administration, to the great and permanent benefit of the whole labouring class. There is, probably, no country in which by varying the means suitably to the character of the people, a legal provision for the destitute might not be made compatible with the observance of the conditions necessary to its being innocuous.

Subject to these conditions, I conceive it to be highly desirable, that the certainty of subsistence should be held out by law to the destitute able-bodied, rather than that their relief should depend on voluntary charity.

In the first place, charity almost always does too much or too little; it lavishes its bounty in one place, and leaves people to starve in another. Secondly, since the State must necessarily provide subsistence for the criminal poor while undergoing punishment, not to do the same for the poor who have not offended is to give a premium on crime. And lastly, if the poor are left to individual charity, a vast amount of mendicancy is inevitable.

What the State may and should abandon to private charity, is the task of distinguishing between one case of real necessity and another. Private charity can give more to the more deserving. The State must act by general rules. It cannot undertake to discriminate between the deserving and undeserving indigent. It owes no more than subsistence to the first, and can give no less to the last.

Such being the general conditions under which a scheme of national assurance against starvation should be worked, it remains for us to examine; *first*, whether these conditions can be satisfied in any system of famine-relief in India; and, *secondly*, if so, whether they have been satisfied in the recent famine-relief operations in Bengal.

We have already pointed out that the results of the Poor Law system in England up to the present day justify Mr. Mill's belief, expressed many years ago, that the Law of 1834 was likely to work well. The people are saved from starvation, which, as Mr. Mill observes, is one of the primary duties of civilised society; and yet they have been neither demoralised nor pauperised. This has been effected mainly by the device of giving assistance in such a manner "as to give to everyone a strong motive to do without it if he can;" for instance, to take the most difficult case, that of the able-bodied pauper, such a man is not helped except on the condition of doing as much and as disagreeable work as would, *under ordinary circumstances*, entitle him to receive at least as much as (generally more than) the help actually given. It is, we think, obvious that there is nothing in the nature of things, to make this condition more difficult in India than it is in England. It has been satisfied in England; we are therefore sure that it may be, and we believe that it actually has been, satisfied in India.

Let us examine in detail whether the differences between the circumstances of England and those of India, are really so great as to destroy the force of the analogy.

And first with regard to the relative wealth of the two countries. It is said, and truly said, that England is a rich country, and can therefore well afford to perform her moral obligations to her starving citizens; whilst India is, undoubtedly, a very poor country. But it must be remembered that, if the worst came to the worst—if no measures be taken to prevent famines in the future, or if the measures taken prove to be futile—if the country has to go on providing funds for meeting frequently recurring famines, at the same cost as that which has been incurred in her recent first experiences—even under all these utterly improbable contingencies, the financial strain will be almost insignificant when compared with that of the Poor Law expenditure in England. We do not, of course, deny that the price, that the country must pay for what some may consider the luxury of a

clear conscience, must be (for the present, at least, and until wise preventive measures have been instituted and have commenced to bear fruit) a serious consideration to a poor country like India. The repudiating States of America found (for the time at least) repudiation cheaper than honesty; and provincial poverty was regarded by some as a fair excuse for provincial immorality. But this line of argument will never, we trust, be allowed in any portion of the British Empire. India is poor; but she can and will always be able to afford to pay her debts—not only her legal debts, but also those debts of conscience of which the obligation is, if possible, more binding in the eyes of all just and honourable men. Fortunately for Indian Finance, the social conditions of this country make it certain that we shall never (at any rate in any state of society to which we need look forward at present) require a chronic Poor Law expenditure like that of England;* and this immunity is probably, but most illogically, the reason why so many have been inclined to regard the short spasmodic expenditure of Famine Relief as an act of grace, rather than one of moral necessity as it really is. It might be well if cynical critics would remember that, but for the remarkable vitality of private charity in this country and the strength of the ties of domestic relationship, the State might have been called upon either to support a *yearly* burden far larger than the cost of the late famine, or to face the execrations of the civilised world for clearing off its aged and sick like the useless lumber of “a frigate cleared for action.”

Closely connected with the point which we have just been discussing, is another objection that has been made, *viz.*, that in England famines are well-nigh impossible, whilst in this country they are of frequent occurrence, and are likely to happen more and more frequently as the population increases and outruns the pro-

* This opinion, based on the *à priori* argument from the social and religious feelings of the people of this country, has been fully borne out by the facts of the case. Sir Richard Temple (*Famine Report*, page 50) says, —“Those who remained at the beginning of autumn, that is, 1st to 15th September, were those who in ordinary times subsisted on private charity, and who had no livelihood of their own making. During the famine the classes who are donors of this charity being themselves in straits, ceased to support their indigent and infirm people, who consequently came upon State relief. But with the prospect

of returning plenty it became a matter of serious moment to send these poor people back to private charity. There was anxiety as to whether the ordinary donors would resume their charitable offices. However, so strong is the force of usage, almost amounting to religious obligation, that they must have begun again to give to the beggars and to the helpless their accustomed doles of food. These poor creatures have been discharged from State relief, and no harm has resulted to them. These circumstances are certainly creditable to the industrial classes.”

ductive powers of the country. To the former part of this objection, we give the answer of the last paragraph: England has a chronic pauperism far more costly than any series of Indian famines ever dreamed of by the wildest alarmists. The second part of the objection we regard as altogether fallacious; and the fallacy arises from the error of regarding the increase of population as a phenomenon by itself, without considering other attendant phenomena, which in this case will, probably, far more than neutralise the increase of population. In the first place, in India (notwithstanding its "teeming millions") there seems to be less immediate prospect than in most countries, of the population outrunning the productive powers of the country; for (1) in every province, even in Bengal itself,* there is an immense margin of cultivable land at present uncultivated, not so much because of any difficulty in the cultivation, as because the land already under cultivation suffices both for the wants of the cultivators and for the supply of all accessible markets; (2) for the same reason, the improvements in agricultural processes which in countries of more ancient civilisation have for so many centuries served to keep production ahead of population, are in this country in their infancy. The combined effects of these two conditions would seem to be to delay almost indefinitely the time when population can actually approach the limits set upon it by the productive power of the land. Hence also the difficulty that is found in inducing any considerable emigration from Bengal; the country does not need emigration. Moreover, in the second place, the facilities of transport are likely to increase at a far more rapid rate than the population, for a very long time to come; and the experience of the recent famine teaches us that with facility of

* We find unexpected proof of this statement in the Famine Report. Sir Richard Temple says:—"The agricultural statistics for Bengal have not been completed, but we know that, notwithstanding the great extension of cultivation during the last eighty years, there are still large areas of fertile soil awaiting the plough in Purneah, Dinagepore, Chittagong, Julpigoree, North Bhagulpore, and Chota Nagpore.

Along the whole northern border of the most populous districts (which last year were also the most distressed) of Behar and Bengal, stretches a wide strip of fertile land awaiting the approach of cultivation. To the south of Central Bengal lie the Sunderbans, where even allowing suffi-

cient land for forest reserves, there are broad areas of rich waste available for settlers from the thickly-peopled districts of Bengal. To the west again of Behar and Bengal are situate the districts of the Chota Nagpore division, where the population is comparatively sparse, and where, perhaps, barely one-fifth of the land has yet been brought under the plough. In the rich valleys of Assam and Cachar there is ample space for any population that may overflow from Eastern Bengal for very many years to come. There are thus on all sides of Bengal wide areas of uncultivated land available for such surplus population as may migrate from the districts of Bengal and Behar.

transport, India will be even more secure from famine than England is, because less dependent on supplies drawn from foreign and possibly hostile sources.*

Fas est et ab hoste doceri. The objection discussed in the last paragraph, though utterly futile in itself, may well serve to suggest to the Government the best *preventive* measures that can be adopted to secure the country from the frequent recurrence of these catastrophes. It has been the fashion of late to cry up irrigation-works, encouragement of waste-land cultivation, and other devices for enlarging and securing the ordinary yearly food-production of the country. But the advocates of these measures forget that, if successfully carried out, they would tend *pro tanto* to cheapen the ordinary or normal price of food-grain throughout the country—a process which, in a vast agricultural country like India, could hardly fail to find compensation in and be neutralised by a reduced production in some other parts of the country. The proper use of such devices—as also of all encouragement of improved agricultural processes,† a measure having much the same economical effects—is to be found in their gradual and very careful adoption, as means of retarding the advance of population upon food-production, or in

* This is fully confirmed by the Resolution of the Government of India on Sir Richard Temple's Report. Lord Northbrook says:—"The food-supplies of India, including British Burmah, proved amply sufficient to meet the demand occasioned by the failure of the rice crop. Out of the total quantity of grain purchased by the Government, which amounted to 479,696 tons, only 54,300 tons were obtained from beyond British India. The rice exported from British Burmah in the year 1874 amounted to about 815,000 tons. Of this quantity about 290,000 tons were sent to Bengal, and about 470,000 tons to Europe—the exports to Europe having been only 33,000 tons less than in the previous year. The import of food-grains by railway from the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab is calculated by Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor to have amounted to 289,000 tons. This large export from Upper India did not greatly affect prices in the producing districts. The total quantity of food-grain carried into the distressed districts can hardly have been

much less than 1,000,000 tons."

Sir Richard Temple says (*Famine Report*, page 40): "It is a sign of the great resources of the Provinces of India that, notwithstanding the drain on Northern India and Burmah during the past ten months, the price of food in those countries is at the present moment about as cheap as in ordinary years.

† The law of the diminishing return to the labour and capital expended on high farming is of course familiar to all who have studied the subject, as well as to all practical agriculturists. In countries where plenty of new land is available, high farming is not only unprofitable to the farmer, but involves an actual loss to the community. Practically it is never attempted in such a case on any scale worth considering; and the only way in which it can possibly happen, is from its being forced on a country by Government encouragement. The economic laws affecting irrigation-works and the encouragement of waste-land cultivation are very similar to those affecting high farming.

other words, of increasing the regular and ordinary food-supplies of the country so that they may keep pace with the increase of population. But what is it that protects England and all other advanced countries from all danger (except under circumstances that cannot now be foreseen) of actual lack of the means of subsistence? It certainly is not, and never could be, a large excess of food-production above the needs of ordinary years; no amount of Government encouragement could maintain such a state of affairs in any country for more than a year or two. It is simply **FACILITY OF TRANSPORT**—facilities for rapidly increasing import, and for rapid internal distribution. Sir Richard Temple's full appreciation of this great truth has been the crown and glory of his famine-relief administration,*—that which distinguished

* The account of Sir Richard Temple's transport-arrangements is, perhaps, the most interesting part of the report. To the vigour with which these were pushed on, immediately that the present Lieutenant-Governor was placed by the Viceroy in joint charge with Sir George Campbell, may certainly be attributed much of the success of the relief-measures. The transport of grain was itself made a great and most efficient relief-work, and gavelife and food to thousands—an admirable illustration of that marvellous faculty for economising and utilising every possible form of working-power which has distinguished Sir Richard Temple's administrative career. We cannot refrain from quoting, for the benefit of those of our readers to whom the report may be inaccessible, the graphic description given of some of the transport arrangements:—

"The banks of the Ganges in Behar, which formed the great base of our transport operations, presented scenes of much animation. On the south bank temporary branches or sidings from the main railway line were constructed on to the very ridge of the high river-bank, where long sheds were erected for sheltering the bags of rice piled up in long series of heaps. Wooden slides were constructed, stretching down the steep bank, so that the bags might shoot straight from the goods platform to the deck of the steamers lying in

the stream. At that spring season violent winds from the west (hot as furnace blasts) blow over the broad river-bed (several miles in average breadth) from morning to evening, filling the air with dusty haze and obstructing navigation for all vessels save those propelled by steam. From eventide the winds subside until the morning. But navigation in the shifting and tortuous channels was impossible during the dark hours, so the work had to be done either by steamers laden together with their barges (called "flats") or else by steamers towing country craft. It was interesting to see a steamer tugging against wind and stream a far-stretching string of, perhaps, twenty country boats. On the other side, the steamers would meet the Durbhunga Railway, which had been carried across the low sands to the water's edge, the steam vessel lying almost alongside of the railway engine. As the river rose gradually, the waters encroaching on the sands would drive back the railway line a few yards day by day.

On the north bank the main depôts could be descried from afar by the clouds of ascending dust. Day and night there was a ceaseless creaking and rolling of carts, incoming empty and outgoing laden. The great length of sheds which had been erected was often insufficient for the bags that arrived, which were then heaped into pyramids from 60 to 80 feet high.

it from the equally vigorous but not equally well-directed administration of Sir George Campbell—that which, with the wise direction and cordial support of Lord Northbrook, has (we firmly believe) contributed more than anything else to the glorious issue of the campaign.

We may here notice—*par parenthèse*, and in justice to many of those who joined at an early period of the famine in the outcry against a vigorous relief policy—that, doubtless, much of the opposition then evoked was to be attributed to the rash and unnecessary character of some of the measures that it was attempted to force on the cooler judgments of Lord Northbrook and his more immediate advisers.* Of these proposed measures, the one that

The lines of the carts extended continuously over many miles. A traveller might traverse say 20 miles of country and meet with uninterrupted strings of carts throughout the whole distance. Every one of the streams (which though very low were still running clear in that region) was blocked by cartmen stopping to water their cattle. Every one of the roadside mango groves, which abound in that quarter, was crowded with men and animals packed close together for temporary repose and shade. At evening the darkness of the groves would be lit up by the cooking fires. The roadways were cut by the cart wheels into ruts from two to three feet deep (called *leeks*). The carts could not move unless they followed the ruts. Fortunately, most of the carts were of an uniform build. But whenever carts of a different build came into the field, there actually arose questions of cart gauge, broad and narrow, and the transport department would be obliged to carve out fresh roadways wherein the carts of a particular breadth might work their own ruts.

More interesting still, perhaps, was the assembling and mustering of the many contingents of carts in the country around Durbhunga and Mudhobunnee during February 1874. The rough tracks and lanes form a network of communication in that region. Every line was covered by the bands of carts, each several thousand strong, converging from

every direction. The troops of men with their carriage gathered with alacrity at central stations. All seemed to understand the vital moment of the enterprise on which they were entering. At first the groves and tanks of the central stations afforded shade and water even for these masses. But soon these places became choked with the dust from the arid, friable soil trodden by countless feet. The foliage of the trees became encrusted and brown with layers of dust; the tanks would be drained to their dregs of fetid mud; the air was thick with particles of earth flying in the fervid blasts of the summer wind. Throughout the twenty-four hours of the day the business had to be prosecuted, and order had to be maintained among the masses of men, animals, and carts, whether at rest or in motion. Side by side with this were the field hospitals for the people and for the beasts—for the sun-stricken, the foot-sore, the over-fatigued, the exhausted, the ailing, and the sick. During the hottest hours of the day European officers on horseback were recovering stragglers, urging on the backward and encouraging the forward."

* In the debate on the Address in the House of Lords, Earl Granville well said, "On both sides of the House it is admitted that Lord Northbrook displayed ability, sagacity, and industry; and that he resisted clamour which made it all the more difficult for him to carry out his policy." In the debate in the Com-

attracted most attention was the prohibition of the export of grain from the distressed provinces; and as this was a question upon which it was absolutely impossible to arrive at a fair decision without a full knowledge of the extent of the other remedial measures within the power of the Government—and as, moreover, the proposal was one that ought to be entertained only in the last extremity—it is not to be wondered at if many thoughtful men were inclined to consider not only this extreme measure, but also the whole scheme of Famine Relief, as the result of a foolish panic. It was, of course, obvious from the first that, if the Government were certain of being able to obtain food-supplies from without, reasonably sufficient for the emergency, to prohibit exports (and thereby to main the export-trade for years to come) would be very like killing the goose that gave the golden eggs. We now know that Lord Northbrook was fully justified in his determination not to allow his better judgment to be overborne by clamour or panic. The arrangements made by the Government of India for supplies from without, are now known to have been amply sufficient for all contingencies that might fairly and without extravagance be calculated upon.* Under these circumstances,

mons on the same occasion, the Leader of the Opposition said, "I cannot refrain from offering my humble tribute to the energy and fortitude with which he grappled throughout with that grave difficulty, and to the moral courage with which he took his own course, in opposition sometimes to authority of very great weight. He has done enough, and not more than enough, to save the afflicted provinces, without unnecessarily disturbing trade or demoralising the people by undue assistance." Similar sentiments were expressed, with hardly less warmth, by speakers on the Government benches. How fully Lord Northbrook has deserved all these praises, none know so well as those who have been themselves resident in the distressed country during its great trial.

* With what skill and prudence these forecasts were made by Lord Northbrook, the recently-published Report fully shows. The Government of India's Resolution says: "It will be seen from Sir Richard Temple's minute that a balance of about 100,000 tons of rice remained after the relief operations had been

concluded. To this extent the measures taken have been in excess of the requirements of the case. The responsibility for this excess rests entirely with the Government of India. Having to deal with so vast a population, whose support depended upon many uncertain contingencies, it would have been imprudent not to have been prepared to meet larger demands than those which were actually made upon the Government. If a substantial reserve had not been provided, the success of the relief operations would properly have been attributed rather to good fortune than to foresight. The experience of last year shows the necessity of such a reserve. In the beginning of September 1874 very great apprehensions were felt that the scarcity would be prolonged. This was only averted by a fall of rain at the very last moment when it could have been of use to allow the winter crops to be sown; and, if the rain had not then fallen, the rice in reserve would have been urgently required. It must not be forgotten that on previous occasions it has occurred that a second year of

any interference with the export trade was absolutely uncalled-for, and could only have been productive of unmitigated evil. Both in its immediate and permanent effects on the commerce of the country, and in its obvious tendency to diminish production, and consequently to impair the actual resources of the province and the ability to meet future calamities of a like nature—in every way, prohibition of exports could only be regarded as a measure of the very last resort. Moreover, if adopted at an early stage of the distress—when alone it could have been of any use in arresting export—it might not improbably have indirectly aggravated the ultimate distress; for one of its immediate results would have been to cause a heavy fall in prices, which would have produced a large and immediate increase in consumption. It is, however, happily, unnecessary to dwell further on these points now; Lord Northbrook has the double satisfaction of having decided rightly at first, and of having resolutely adhered to that decision until time itself has proved him right.

We return to the discussion of those objections by which it has been attempted to prove that political science may justify Poor Law Relief in England whilst it forbids Famine Relief in India; and we come now to the question of demoralisation. We have shown that in England, by the judicious arrangements of the Poor Law, a national system of assurance against starvation has been worked without demoralising the people or unduly extending the limits of pauperism. This has been effected by contriving that the condition of the person relieved should always be somewhat less desirable than that of the person who can contrive to do without relief; and the same method is evidently as applicable to India as to England. But, says the adversary, that demoralising process that falls harmless on the sturdy and independent spirits of Englishmen, exercises all its mischievous power on the weakly and spiritless Bengali peasant to whom self-reliance is at his best a thing unknown. This is obviously a statement that can only be proved or disproved by actual experience;* but we think that it

drought has followed the first." It will be seen from this statement, that about 80 per cent of the total provision of Government grain was actually consumed during the period of distress—nearly all having been issued before the 1st of October 1874. The balance of 20 per cent (or 100,000 tons) left unconsumed represents exactly such a margin as the most careful and judicious reckoner would wish to see, considering the enormous scale of the operations and the absolute uncertainty that

existed (even as late as the month of September) about the probable duration of the distress. We believe that every unbiassed observer will agree heartily with the Marquis of Hartington, that enough has been done, but not one jot more than enough.

* On this point Sir Richard Temple's report literally teems with the most valuable and conclusive information. We might quote page after page to show that, so far from the Bengali and Behari peasantry having been

may be shown to be *a priori* unlikely. 'Self-reliance on great

demoralised by the relief operations, they really seem to have learnt from recent events an admirable lesson of forethought and energy, more effectually than they could have been taught in any other way. The facts and experiences detailed in the report are absolutely conclusive on the point; but we have only space here for one or two extracts. Speaking of the period of the setting-in of the rains in 1874—the turning-point of the famine—Sir Richard Temple says: "During this period it became apparent that, in the distressed districts, the agricultural classes, ordinarily prompt and industrious on the occasions when a change in the season favours their work, were on this occasion putting forth extraordinary efforts. The land was ploughed and prepared with remarkable rapidity. The husbandmen seemed possessed with a desire to free themselves from dependence on the State by resuscitating their own means of subsistence An unusually large area was sown with those crops—the early varieties of rice, the maize, the coarser millets and pulses—which could be reaped in August, and which would yield the speediest return. Much land was sown with these crops, which, from exposure to inundation, was not properly suited for them, and in which there was consequently great risk of the produce being destroyed. Still the cultivators ran that risk in the hope of obtaining resources by an early date. So intent were the people on the early sowings, that doubt began to arise as to whether due attention was being given to the preparations for the main rice crop to be reaped later. It was soon found, however, that this crop was being sown to the fullest extent possible.

Fear had sometimes been felt lest the administration of relief on a great scale should tend to demoralise a people chiefly agricultural, and to relax their zeal for husbandry. Such fear was immediately dissipated, in-

asmuch as the severe lessons of the famine had evidently taught them to work harder than ever, and to make the most of the first chance afforded to them by the seasons for recurring to self-help."

Again, "There has been no demoralising effect whatever visibly produced on the labouring classes. It is true that in the distressed districts these classes were for several months employed on the relief-works. A small portion of them consisted of professional labourers, who work for hire in road-making and similar occupations. This limited class certainly made good earnings by the piece-work system; but as they did this by industry superior to the average, there is no reason to regard them as demoralised thereby. They were among the first to be discharged from the works as soon as the season changed for the better. They will, doubtless, labour in the future on public works and the like, much as they have laboured in the past. But the real bulk of the relief-labourers consisted of the lower classes of ryots and cultivators and the field labourers. In chapter IV it was shown that although the system of daily wages, unavoidably adopted as a temporary expedient, had demoralising tendencies, the system of piece-work which was speedily substituted and finally adopted, had not any such tendencies but quite the reverse. It is believed that these people, so far from being demoralised, were actually improved in morale by the system which was adopted. After the setting in of the rains the matter became one of demonstrable fact. For in what did the ordinary work of these classes consist? Agriculture. After the rains set in, was there any reluctance on their part to return to their field? Was there any slowness to sow? Was there any contraction of the average area of cultivation? Was any land ordinarily tilled left untilled? Was the first or autumn crop badly raised,

occasions, in times of danger or emergency, when the more heroic virtues are called into play, is doubtless more characteristic of the English peasant with his powerful *physique* and his strong nervous system, than it is of the Bengali with his delicate body and his weak nerves. But on the other hand, the more passive virtues that are ordinarily exerted in the daily earning of a humble livelihood—patience, perseverance, frugality, temperance—are generally believed to belong to the lowest classes in Bengal to a far greater extent than to the same classes in England. Again, that keen regard for the public opinion of their little society, which is ridiculed by Mr. Matthew Arnold (under the name of “respectability”) as one phase of Philistinism in the British middle classes, is almost totally wanting in the lowest classes at home; but in India it is all-powerful, even among the very lowest. All these considerations obviously tend to diminish the danger of demoralisation from Indian poor-relief. Of course, as in England, so in India, and, indeed, in any other country, demoralisation will ensue if the method of relief be not properly and judiciously arranged; but we fully believe—and we know the belief to be shared by those most competent to form an opinion on the subject—that the late famine arrangements were as perfect in this particular as the nature of the case admitted. Doubtless, the infirm and the helpless poor were relieved, as they ought always to be relieved, with as few vexatious and shameful restrictions as possible; but from the able-bodied, and even from women and children where it was right and proper, a full return in labour was exacted for the food that was supplied*.

tended, and gathered? Was the second or winter crop indifferently sown or inefficiently transplanted? Now all of the above questions, and any similar questions that could be put, may be answered emphatically in the negative. Never have these important things been done better by the people than during the summer and autumn of 1874. Though some persons here and there may have, during June last, been charged with unwillingness to quit relief, yet as a whole they have evinced a degree of alacrity and industry never surpassed by them within living memory. Such being the case, it is hard to see how they can have been in any way demoralised. On the contrary, they have, probably, learned a lesson regarding the vicissitudes of season and the expediency of losing no chance of self-preserva-

tion by skill and promptitude.”

* We are again able to quote from Sir Richard Temple's report the fullest confirmation of what we have said in the text. The following is from that part of the fourth chapter which treats of the way in which pay was distributed on the relief-works:—“These people had been paid on the plan of daily wages, which meant that a person—man, woman, or child—should labour all the working hours of the day, and receive a daily wage at rates fixed for men, women, and children, respectively. The rates being hardly higher than those of ordinary times, were very low in places of dearth and scarcity. This plan, though applicable to limited numbers, was found, when applied to very large numbers, to militate against any effective supervision by measuring up of work

We come lastly to the remaining point which we have proposed to consider in this paper—the interference with private trade

actually done; to fail in offering a reward to industry or imposing a penalty on idleness; to give birth to many petty abuses, and especially to afford opportunities of wrongful gain to gangmen who had to be selected from among the people themselves for watching the work of the gangs. During the first rush, crush, and stress of relief affairs, the introduction of the piece-work plan (which is much preferable) had not been practicable, but it was resolved to take the earliest safe opportunity of introducing it. The piece-work plan meant fixing a rate of payment for a specified amount of earth-work, measuring up the work actually done, and paying accordingly. The terms first proposed for the piece-work were quite liberal as compared with those which would be allowed in ordinary times, and even in those hard times admitted of a tolerably able, industrious, and skilful person earning a subsistence. They were, however, hardly liberal enough in regard to the severity of out-door toil in the hottest season, to the induration of the parched-up soil, to the feebleness and inaptitude of many of the people, and to the large proportion of women and children in the gangs. When they were promulgated, the ignorant people imagined them to be so hard as to preclude an ordinary untrained villager from earning subsistence under them. This notion was fostered by the gangmen, who thought by passive resistance to stop the substitution of piece-work for the daily wage, and thereby to prolong the opportunity of their own illicit gains. So they persuaded the people that to attempt piece-work on the roads was to fail to obtain sufficient food, and that it would be better to stay at home and languish there than to starve abroad. In many cases they even insinuated that the Government was tired of supporting the people, and that the piece-work was only a pretext for making the

relief-labourers leave the roads, and so for closing the works. All this resulted in the people deserting the works in very large numbers. The total number of persons who thus deserted in various places and on various dates about this time was not less than 350,000. A certain number, some thousands in all, who were either professional earth-diggers, or were apt at labour, remained on the roads to do the piece-work. For a while it was naturally believed that the hundreds of thousands of deserters must all come back to the works, inasmuch as they had no other means of living. But soon the relief circle officers reported that tens of thousands of persons having left the roads had returned to their homes and were staying there in apparent destitution, perhaps under some misapprehension. It was found on enquiry that these people were existing on the verge of starvation, under the idea either that they had no chance of earning their bread on the roads, or else that the works had been closed against them. Unless some remedy were immediately adopted, extensive mortality must ensue. These misapprehensions were soon rectified, and the labourers were too glad to return to work and pay. Opportunity was taken to render the terms of the piece-work more liberal, and the local authorities gradually, but firmly, substituted this system for daily wages almost everywhere. At the same time the wages were paid in grain. So many pounds of rice were given for so many cubic feet of earth-work measured up.

After a time, the effect of this change was visible in the behaviour of the relief-labourers; they found on trial the premium which piece-work offers to the industrious who choose to work during extra hours. Practice first improved their skill and aptitude. The long summer days enabled them to labour for many hours out of the twenty-four, and so to earn an amount from which they

which is sometimes said to be inseparable from Famine Relief. It is, of course, true that (to quote Mill's phrase) "the union of all merchants can do more than the Government, though the Government can do more than any one merchant;" and consequently it will often happen that Government will do more harm than good by bringing food-supplies into a distressed province, for it is possible that such a measure will paralyse all private trade. But there is a limit to this as to all similar propositions in political economy: For private trade in grain to be active (or even to exist) in any district, it is, of course, absolutely necessary in the first place that the price of grain in the district should be sufficiently high to cover (1) the original cost of the grain, *plus* (2) the cost of carrying it to the distressed district, *plus* (3) the profit of the trader on the whole operation, including the three items of interest, insurance, and wages of superintendence. In the second place, it is also equally necessary that the people should possess sufficient money to purchase the grain at the high prices required by the former condition. Now it is perfectly obvious that unless *both* these conditions are fulfilled, private trade must languish and die, the people must starve, and the traders will be involved in the common ruin. And can any sane person believe for a moment that these conditions could have been fulfilled during the late famine, let us say in the remote districts of Behar? There can be no doubt about the first condition having been fulfilled—prices would have been high enough to attract all the rice of India and Burmah, if things had been let alone, and if a sufficient number of purchasers could have been found; but what proportion of the population of Behar could have become purchasers at such rates? It may be said that

could find present sustenance, and save something against the rainy season when the works would be closed. Many men, whose wives and children had been working on the roads, would now earn alone enough for the household, and would keep their families at home. Very many, too, managed to earn in a few hours enough for daily food, and spent the remainder of the day preparing their arid fields in the hope of showers. The majority of the people were spurred and stimulated to a degree of perseverance and energy, which would hardly have been credited had it not been fully demonstrated. Despite incessant toil in the fierce heat, the physical condition of the mass improved week by week. As their

labouring and earning powers increased, it was thought safe for them, and just to the State, to render the piece-work terms somewhat harder. To this they submitted without complaint. The piece-work system was seen to be open to one particular objection, in that a practised or professional workman earns more than need be allowed to him as relief. Any terms which are favourable enough for the unskilled and inefficient (who are the great majority), must prove too favourable for the skilled few. It was decided that this objection could not be obviated, and that no exception could be made as against these individuals, especially as their example instructed the mass of the relief-labourers in workmanlike habits."

relief-works would enable the people to buy at these prices, and therefore save their lives without any Government importation of grain; but what would become of the portion of the population unable from various causes to labour on these works? Their case would now be worse than ever, for the money thrown into the province in the shape of wages for relief-work would *pro tanto* still further raise the price of grain. Even if these wages are paid in grain, as has been the case in the late famine, the case of the non-effectives is as bad as before; moreover, the importation of grain for this purpose is (as far as it goes) just that interference with private trade which is blindly* deprecated.

The truth is, that whilst private trade should undoubtedly be encouraged as much as possible, it *must* also be supplemented in any place where the cost of bringing supplies from a great distance and in the face of great difficulties renders the natural price of food such as to put it absolutely beyond the reach of the people. And this was unquestionably the state of affairs last year in the distressed districts of Behar and Bengal.

The form in which we have just stated the conditions on which the price of food in any remote district must depend, enables us at the same time to see clearly in what way Government may best *assist* private enterprise. It obviously lies in doing as much as possible to cheapen the cost of carriage; and this points, in the first place, to that which we have already described as the chief glory of Sir Richard Temple's famine administration—the provision of means of transport. The reduction of the railway rates for carriage of grain—the loss being, of course, made up from the public revenues—was a measure*dictated by the

* The blind and utterly inaccurate nature of most of the criticism to which we are here referring, has been fully exposed by Sir Richard Temple's report. Not only have no complaints been received from dealers of their trade being interfered with, but many of the shrewdest have loudly expressed their gratitude to the Government for having preserved their very means of subsistence by preserving the lives of their customers. Perhaps, one of the most absurd of all these criticisms is one that has lately been "ventilated" in some of the Anglo-Indian journals, to the effect that Government interference was either unnecessary or ineffectual in Behar, because prices there did not differ much from those ruling in some adjacent districts of the North-West

Provinces. The fact, to the mind of any impartial observer who is at the same time competent to form an opinion on the subject, proves two things:—*First*, that prices in Gorakhpur and the adjacent districts of the North-West must have risen to famine-rates, but for the Government operations in Behar, *which alone have saved the North-West from a terrible disaster*; and *secondly*, that the Government arrangements in Behar were so judiciously made, by proportioning the relief given to the various districts exactly according to the varying extent of the distress, that the effect was to equalise the pressure over a large space even beyond the actual limits for which the arrangements were in the first place made.

soundest scientific principles; and it has been attended with the happiest results. The private grain trade,* instead of being paralysed by the Government operations, has been actually more brisk than usual; the prices ruling being sufficient to remunerate the private trader when aided by this encouragement, without being so high as to preclude all purchases.

We have now dealt in turn with each of the more important objections that have been urged against the recent Government measures; and for each we have endeavoured to show that, though put before the public in a scientific guise, it has no true scientific basis. We have not attempted the discussion of many minor points of detail; with regard to which the experience now gained will doubtless be found invaluable when a similar calamity befalls the country, but which involve no important principles. Nor have we touched upon many points which really do involve important principles, such as the importation of food from distant centres like Burmah and Saigon, and the advances of seed-grain to the ryots, simply because in these the propriety of the Government measures has never, as far as we know, been controverted. With regard to the questions that have been the subject of controversy, we have endeavoured to show clearly and impartially what we believe to be the true teachings of political economy. We have also adverted to that which we believe to be the most valuable political lesson of the great famine year—the paramount importance of a rapid development of the railway system and other means of communication throughout this empire, which alone can avert such terrible contingencies and the necessity for such a heavy expenditure. He is the best economist, as well as the greatest statesman, who boldly faces the national duty and prepares to fulfil it in the best way that science and experience can suggest†—not he who vainly tries to refine away all

* We believe that there are few of the critics with whom we have been dealing, that will not be startled by the figures given in Sir Richard Temple's report. It appears from the best estimates that can be formed, that more than 500,000 tons of grain—or considerably more than the whole Government provision—have been poured into the distressed districts by private enterprise! So much for the disastrous results of Government interference. The remarkable forethought and sagacity displayed by Sir Richard Temple's policy in matters of detail were perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the arrangement by which the

chief strength of the Government was put forth in localities remote from the railway, which were consequently not so easily reached by private dealers. The distressed districts accessible from the railway were almost entirely provided for by the latter.

† Sir Richard Temple well says in his report: "We may hope that these provinces may, under Providence, long be spared such a visitation in the future; but at the worst, we must meet famine as we should meet war." The same spirit of resolute forethought pervades the whole of the Resolution of the Government of India—Lord North-

responsibility by the shifts and contrivances of a spurious philosophy :—

God calls for Famine, and the meagre fiend
Blows mildew from between his shrivell'd lips,
And taints the golden ear. He springs His mines,
And desolates a nation at a blast.
Forth steps the spruce philosopher, and tells
Of homogeneal and discordant springs,
And principles ; of causes how they work
By necessary laws their sure effects ;
Of action and re-action.

We have seen of late in the Anglo-Indian Press, enough and more than enough of the "spruce philosopher," with his "homogeneal and discordant springs," and all the abracadabra of the political charlatan ; is it too much to ask that questions of vast importance to the Empire, and indeed to the cause of humanity at large, may be discussed in the spirit of earnestness that befits men of thought as well as men of action ? In no other country in the world is that flippancy in the treatment of great questions, which has of late been somewhat fashionable with many of our newspapers, so much to be deprecated as in India. The small body of Englishmen in the country can of course understand the flippancy ; and may be amused, if they are not shocked, by it. But these flippant utterances are not unfrequently translated into the native papers, and are occasionally copied into journals at home ; and in each case they are submitted to an audience utterly incapable of gauging their true value. In the present case their probable effect on the native mind is especially to be deplored. Judged in the light of the facts and experiences of the late famine, the British rule, and its personifications in Lord Northbrook and Sir Richard Temple, must appear, and rightly appear, "as the *avatārs* of a divine and benignant force," * to the eyes of the people of Bengal, and indeed of India in general. The moral and political value of such a noble example on the one side and of such cordial appreciation on the other, can hardly be overrated ; and it would unquestionably be a matter for the deepest regret if these good impressions were to be marred by the idle and unjust cavillings of irresponsible wiseacres. It was once said by a good authority, that the chief function of the Press in India, if it does its duty, is to enact the rôle of Her Majesty's Opposition ; but it should never be

brook significantly says, "As railway communication is extended, the probability of Government being called upon to interfere in this manner with the functions of trade will

diminish." If we are not mistaken, this sentence strikes the key-note of the future policy of the Government, a policy as wise as it is humane.

*The *Saturday Review* on the Famine.

forgotten that opposition degenerates into faction when it becomes captious and unjust. Let us honestly give credit where credit is unquestionably due. Lord Northbrook and Sir Richard Temple, aided by many officials and by as many non-officials, have achieved a glorious triumph—none the less glorious for having been a triumph of peace and humanity, and achieved without any of those horrors that attend a great military triumph ; and the story of this triumph will be told as long as the memory of our rule in India endures.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

The Analogy of Religion. Part I. Of Natural Religion. By Bishop Joseph Butler. Translated into Urdu, with a brief Life of the Author and Explanatory Notes. By H. R. Williams, St. John's College, Agra. Agra: 1874.

THIS excellent translation is one of the many valuable results of the noble efforts made by Sir William Muir to encourage the production of a sound vernacular literature in the North-West Provinces. The work of translating Butler's *Analogy* is obviously a most difficult one, not only on account of the abstruse and involved nature of the arguments, which demand the utmost precision of language to be intelligible even to the most philosophical reader; but also because of the great difficulty there is of preserving the exact shades of meaning in the various philosophical terms employed. For instance, the difficulty is great of expressing in Urdu clearly and without unwieldy paraphrases the exact difference between the meanings of such common philosophical terms as "consciousness," "perception," "sensation." In the new and revised edition of his work, Mr. Williams has been very careful to preserve a strict uniformity in his use of the Urdu equivalents for such terms; and he appears to us to have achieved a high degree of success. The faithfulness with which he has elaborated every idea of the original is worthy of all praise; the most long and sustained arguments can, we think, be followed in the translation almost as easily as in the original. The first part of the *Analogy*, dealing only with natural religion, can be read not only without offence but with a great deal of advantage by persons of every creed; consequently this book is admirably suited to the reading of students in the higher vernacular and normal schools of the North-West.

Prabandhāvalī. A translation of Bacon's *Essays*. By Dharmadās Adhikāri Bhavānipur: Sāptāhika Saṁbād Press: 1874.

ALL Bengali undergraduates while studying Bacon at College must have felt a desire that their fellow-countrymen not having the same opportunities, had some means of being acquainted with the effusions of the founder of inductive philosophy. We have no hesitation, therefore, in welcoming this book as the

first attempt towards giving the Bengali student an insight into the vast store of practical wisdom contained in the works of Bacon ; though we are at the same time sorry that the book is not what we expected it to be. It is not the faithfulness of a translation that is praiseworthy, but the elegance of the language and the ease with which the sentiments of the original author win their way into the heart of the reader. Pope's *Iliad* is more liked by the general reader than that of any other, simply because he did not trouble himself much about finding out the best mode of translating Greek idioms. True, the poetic fire of Homer is lost in the effeminate version of Pope ; still, the translation is so thoroughly English that students unacquainted with Greek cannot help admiring its beauty. But with all his foreignness Homer was a poet as well in his style as in his imagery. This could not be said of Bacon, whose style is extremely sententious and brief, and interspersed here and there with Latinisms. To convey the sentiments of such a writer to the reader unacquainted with English, requires in the translator not only a complete mastery of the peculiarities of Elizabethan literature, but also a power of expressing himself with fluency and ease in his own language. We have carefully compared this book with the original, but judging by the above criterion, found it wanting in many respects the requisites of a good translation. The language, though in some places eloquent, is in general somewhat rough, and the injudicious mixture of high-sounding Sanskrit words with colloquialisms has made the style extremely defective, and the meaning in some places so obscure that the Latin quotations of Bacon seem easier than the Bengali translation. The author has promised in his preface to add some explanatory notes in his second edition, which we recommend him to do as soon as possible, for his little book in its present shape will not be of much use either to students in the Vernacular Schools or to grown up men who read for the sake of instruction and amusement.

Sekála ár Ekála (The Old Age and the New). By Babu Raj-nárayan Basu. Válmíki Press, Calcutta : 1281 B.S.

THIS excellent little book, like all that issue from Babu Raj-narayan's pen, is well written and full of merit. In it our author has sketched out a short history of the past and the present order of our society, marking chiefly the difference in the effect produced thereon by the introduction of Western education into the East. We can hardly name a native reformer, Pándit Vidyáságar excepted, who thinks so liberally of the manners and customs of his own nation and weighs so accurately the evils existing in them, and the remedies that are proposed for their

cure, before venturing upon any innovations, as the author of the book before us. He would never be found crying for quarter for anything that is evil in our society; but he would never, without due deliberation and long reflection, upset the existing order of things: he would patiently wait till time tells him not only the hour and nature of the reformation to begin with, but also the method whereby to carry it into practice. It would be absurd criticism to say that the book leaves many things half-finished and undone; the wonder is how exquisitely the author has marked out the line between the old and new age within so short a compass. His old age refers to the period preceding the establishment of the Hindu College, and his new to that following it. This period has been entitled *new*, because of the new influences since growing in our society, strengthening it and regulating its progressive advance. The book contains much information that is very useful; and will serve as a faithful guide to all those who feel an interest in noting the progress which our society has made during the last four decades. In the very beginning we are told how amicably and freely the *Sahibs* of the bygone days used to mix with the dark complexioned natives of the country, the absence of which freedom is now so universally deplored both here and at home; how those benevolent persons defying the effects of the trying Indian climate on English constitutions, unceasingly did their utmost to contribute to the noble work of India's moral and intellectual regeneration; how great was their success, and how the natives will fondly cherish their memory and merrily sing, in token of gratitude, the lines

হেয়ার কশ্বিন্ পামরাশচর কেরি মার্শমেন স্তথা পঞ্চ গোরা স্বরনিত্যং
মহাপাতক নাশকং ॥

In page 12 our author has very feelingly deplored the growing duplicity and insincerity of the natives with regard to their religious beliefs:—

সে কালে ধর্ম বিষয়ে ভিতরে একখানা বাহিরে একখানা একরূপ ছিল না। একপে যেমন দালানে পূজা হইতেছে, টেবটখানায় মদ্যপান ও উইলসনের দোকানের খানা চলিতেছে, অন্তরে দেব দেবীতে বিশ্বাস নাই, কিন্তু সন্তান রক্ষার জন্য বাহ ঠাট বজায় রাখিতে হইবে, সেকালে অবসৃত ব্যাপার দৃষ্ট হইত না।

To speak the truth, we are perfectly at a loss to understand whether such queer advertisements as 'Prime York Hams in canvas just in time for the Pooja,' are intended for the European residents or the Babu-*Sahibs* of the town. As regards the state of English education before the dawn of the new age, we can form an adequate idea of it by looking at the specimens

of translations given at some length in the book under review. Here is specimen No. 1, 'Master can live, master can die,' meant মনিব আমাকে বাঁচান্নে রাখিতে পারেন, অথবা মারিয়া ফেলিতে পারেন ; and when a public *amlah* using the above was taken to task to explain it to his master, he corrected himself thus : 'Master can live, master can die *me* !' Specimen No. 2 is a description of the Hindu *Ratha* festival. 'Ratha,' said one of the English students of those days, is a wooden church, three stories high, God Almighty sit upon, long long rope, thousand men catch, pull, pull, pull, run away, run away, *Haribal, Haribal* ! Our educated youths of the present day would blush to be reminded that their ancestors used to violate the sovereign language so ruthlessly.

2. GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Theistic Annual for 1875. Published on the occasion of the Forty-fifth Anniversary of the Brahmo Somaj. Edited by P. C. M. Calcutta: 1875.

THE *Theistic Annual* is the recognised organ of the Bráhma Samáj ; and serves both as a yearly record of the progress of that remarkable movement, and as the vehicle of the thoughts of some of its best supporters. Well written and admirably edited, it is worthy of the high literary reputation of Bábus Keshub Chunder Sen, Pratap Chunder Majumdar, and the other Bráhma leaders. It is also well supported by contributions from English theists ; the 1874 *Annual* contained papers by Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Mr. Voysey, and Mr. Amherst D. Tyssen. We are free to confess that we do not sympathise with some of the views expressed in these papers ; but of the general aims of the Bráhma Samáj, and of the value of the work of such men as Bábus Keshub Chunder Sen and Pratap Chunder Majumdar, we have the highest appreciation ; and we are glad to see by the records before us that that noble work is prospering and likely to prosper.

By far the most interesting paper in the present number is Bábu Pratap Chunder Majumdar's account of his mission to Europe. The Bábu, like his predecessor in the same mission, is evidently a man of powerful and original mind, with a deep and earnest conviction of the reality and importance of the faith that is in him. He was much impressed by the warmth of the sympathy shown to him and to his reform movement by all sections of the English community ; and some of the remarks he makes upon public men and public bodies are characterised by great

shrewdness and a singular insight into character. In his opening paragraph he brings out into clear light a most important feature in the relations of the Bráhma Samáj to other theistic communities in the world—a point that appears to have been too much overlooked by many of the Bráhmie leaders—*viz.*, the difference between the constructive, and reforming, and *believing* character of the Indian movement, and the destructive and sceptical nature of the others. On this he says :—"The theism of the Bráhma Samáj is really very different from what passes by that name in other parts of the world But still one cannot fail to be struck with the dry, speculative, critical, and negative character of what is commonly called theistic preaching in England. The frequent attacks made upon orthodox Christianity of all denominations, naturally alienate the sympathy of those who still like to be bound to the old faith of the country." We look upon the clear recognition of this great fact by a leader of Bábu Pratap Chunder's influence amongst the members of the Bráhma Samáj, as one of the most remarkable and valuable advances yet made in the development of the movement; and we earnestly commend his words to the careful consideration of his co-religionists. The Bábu's descriptions of English "evening parties" and Exeter Hall meetings, and of such public men as Mr. Martineau, Father Newman and his brother, Max Müller, and Dean Stanley, are graphic, and most interesting as giving a candid account of the impressions of an educated and liberal-minded Indian gentleman on first going into English society.

Another thoughtful and well-written paper in this number of the *Annual* details the "development of the Bráhma Samáj;" and there are others that reach a high standard of excellence. The Magazine may be read with interest and profit, both by the members of the religious community for whom it is primarily intended, and by all who take an interest in the moral regeneration of this country.

Málavikágnimitra. A Sanskrit Play by Kálidása. Literally translated into English Prose, by C. H. Tawney, M.A., Professor of the English Language, Presidency College, Calcutta. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta: 1875.

THE late Professor Wilson attempted to prove that the *Málavikágnimitra* was not really the productions of the great Kálidása, and that it was written at some period not earlier than the tenth or eleventh century after Christ. The learned Weber has, however, fully refuted this theory; and we may now accept the play as genuine, and as giving us a vivid picture of a native court in the most flourishing period of Indian history—probably

about the third century A.D. The plot of the play is well known. The love of King Agnimitra for Málaviká, the attendant of his chief Queen, reminds the English reader of King Henry and the fair Anne Bullen; and the jealous Queen of Kálidása may fairly be compared with poor Kate of Aragon. The difficulties caused by the modesty or coyness of the lovely Anna and by the desire of Henry VIII. to preserve at least a semblance of decorum, are like those which form the plot of *Málavikágnimitra*; except that here it is the excessive timidity of the king and the watchfulness of Queen Irávatí that keeps the king straight, rather than any scruple on either side. In the end all comes right; for Málaviká succeeds in mollifying her mistress by performing an important rite for her, and ultimately turns out to be a Princess—on which she is installed by the chief Queen as a junior in the same dignity, much to the delight of Agnimitra who has been much exercised by Queen Irávatí's tirades on the subject. The European reader will, of course, bear in mind, in forming an opinion on the morality of the play, that the whole proceeding was quite in accordance with the strictest propriety, amongst a polygamous people; and that the king's love-affair had nothing in it that could be objected to, except the difference in the rank of the parties, and the unkindness of the cut to the elder queens.

The translation is executed with the accuracy and the spirit that always distinguish Professor Tawney's work. The speeches of the *Vidúshaka* (a character whom Mr. Tawney aptly describes as "the Leporello of the Indian drama"—he is the jocosé friend and companion of the king, and is always represented as a Bráhmaṇ) are rendered in a particularly happy way. The sprightliness of his familiar speeches to the king in private, the droll combination of cunning impertinence with a wholesome fear of consequences that is observable in his manner to the vixenish Irávatí, and the dry humour of his addresses to the king and the queens in public, are admirably brought out. Mr. Tawney, who evidently works here *con amore*, is a master in the art of delineating the finer shades of humour; the playfulness of Kálidása loses nothing in his hands. He is hardly less successful in representing the feminine spite of Irávatí, some of whose speeches remind one of Douglas Jerrold's *Mrs. Candle* in their perversely ingenious taunts and jibes. With all this, Mr. Tawney adheres closely to the original Sanskrit. His style, however, is so pleasant, notwithstanding this burdensome restriction, that the general reader will be able to forgive the student, for whose benefit it is done; but will at the same time wish to see something in the shape of an original drama, or at any rate a free translation, from the same artistic hand.

The Oriental.—A Monthly Magazine, devoted to the affairs of India, Turkey, Central Asia, Burmah, China, Japan, the Straits, Australasia, &c. Edited by J. H. Stocqueler. Trübner & Co., London.

WE have now before us the nineteenth number of this interesting and useful Magazine. That it is edited by Mr. Stocqueler, emphatically the Nestor of the Indian Press and the most successful journalist that ever sojourned in India, is a sufficient guarantee of its excellence; and the uniformly high character of the articles in the present number is really remarkable, considering the wide range of topics. The list is worth reciting:—(1) "Dr. John Forbes-Watson," (an appreciative article in which, we think, we detect the well-known hand of the Editor); (2) Eastern Proverbs (a paper that will delight our old friend Mr. Long, if it be not actually from his pen); (3) A Day in Camp and Cutcherry, by Colonel Meadows Taylor (part of a series of graphic descriptions, in which we recognise the pleasant ring of *Tara* and *Seeta*); (4) Darwinism and Language; (5) A Journey to the Diamond Fields of South Africa; (6) "Scandalously Unjust," a vigorous article on the scurvy treatment of India in the adjustments between the India and War Offices; (7) Notes from the Journal of a Tour in the North of China, by Dr. James Legge, one of our foremost Sinologists; (8) A Review (by Mr. Pincott) of Hodgson's "Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal, Thibet &c.;" (9) Health of the Treaty Ports in China; (10) Gossip about Ceylon, one of a series of papers on Ceylon, by Dr. Knighton; (11) The Protected States of India, by A Boundary Officer; (12) Sir George Campbell on Vernacular Education (this is, perhaps, the best article in the number, and exposes in a trenchant way the fatuity and recklessness of our late Lieutenant-Governor's educational policy); (13) The Moral and Material Progress of India (a useful *résumé* of the Annual Blue-book); (14) The Contemporary Press (a selection); (15) Editorial Notes; (16) Current History; (17) A Storehouse of Facts. It will be seen that in this list, there is something to interest every Englishman who lives or has lived in any English settlement in east longitude—India and China naturally engrossing the lion's share of attention. The annual subscription is only £1-6-0 including British postage, or £1-12-0 including foreign postage. If Mr. Stocqueler's subscription-list is not already a very long one, we are quite sure it will soon become so, if he continues to provide his readers with such attractive fare.

Vocabulary of Dialects spoken in the Nicobar and Andaman Isles ; with a short account of the Natives, their Customs and Habits, and of Previous Attempts at Colonisation. By Fr. Ad. de Röepstorff, Candidate of Philosophy, University of Copenhagen ; Fellow, Royal Society, Northern Antiquaries, &c. ; Extra-Assistant Superintendent, Andaman and Nicobars ; late in charge of the Nicobars. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1875.

MR. DÉ RÖEPSTORFF has done for the Nicobar and Andaman Islanders just what Mr. Bryan Hodgson did for the Himálaya mountain tribes. His work is, in some respects, even more important than the generality of such researches, for many of these island dialects are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth, and unless they can be seized and made to deliver up their philological treasures now, they will soon be lost to science for ever. Philologically, the value of a rude dialect, such as those here unearthed, is as great as that of the most elaborate and highly polished speech on the face of the earth, as showing another but not less remarkable stage in linguistic development. A similar value attaches to the other part of Mr. de Röepstorff's work from the point of view of sociology. We hope in a future number to attempt a minute and critical examination of the results of these most valuable researches ; in the meantime we commend the work to the careful consideration of our philological readers.

Notes on Western Turkistan. Some Notes on the Situation in Western Turkistan. By G. R. Aberigh-Mackay. Calcutta : Thacker Spink & Co., 1875.

IN this little book Mr. Aberigh-Mackay has collected, from a vast number of independent sources, pretty nearly everything that is known, and a great deal of what has been surmised, about the topography, history, and political and social condition of the three great Khanates of Central Asia—including a chapter on *Russian Advances*, and another on *England and Russia*. The last two chapters give an account of the recorded opinions of nearly every authority that has ever written or spoken on the great Central Asian question ; the latter chapter especially containing a body of information which appears to be thoroughly exhaustive. Not the least useful part of the work will be found in the *appendices*, especially the chronological table, and the lists of books, articles, and maps to be consulted. It will be unsafe for any one in future to write or even to speak on any subject connected with Central Asia without having first mastered Mr. Aberigh-Mackay's wonderful storehouse of facts and opinions.

The Antiquities of Orissa. By Rajendralala Mitra, Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna; Corresponding Member of the German and the American Oriental Societies, and of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Hungary; Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, etc., etc., Calcutta: Wyman & Co., 1875,

“LONG looked for, come at last!” This will be the sentiment of most Orientalists, on at length getting possession of the first volume of this truly magnificent work. The scientific mission to Orissa—one of the best things ever done for science by Her Majesty’s Indian Government—was carried out in the cold weather of 1868-69, and was accompanied by Bábú Rájendralála Mitra as archæologist; and ever since that period the scientific world has been looking with some impatience for the appearance of the promised work on the *Antiquities of Orissa*. The Bábú’s great and varied learning, which has long ago placed him in the very front rank of Oriental scholarship—his known predilection for the particular line of research in which the Government had been so fortunate as to secure his services—and the remarkable facilities that he has had for making these researches as thorough as possible—all these things have combined to raise the expectations of the world of Orientalists to a very high pitch.

The first instalment of this great and thoroughly national work—a superb royal quarto, most beautifully printed and bound, and richly illustrated in a very high style of art—has reached us just before going to press; and though we obviously cannot attempt to present our readers with anything like a review of it in our present issue, we hasten to express our full conviction that Bábú Rájendralála’s *magnum opus* will amply fulfil all the high anticipations that have been formed about it, and more. The introductory chapter contains a masterly review of the whole subject; whilst the succeeding chapters, as far as we can judge by a rapid inspection, enter fully into the architectural and other antiquarian details in a way that will delight artists and antiquarians alike. The history of the manners, religion, dress, &c., of the ancient inhabitants of Orissa as evolved from their sculptured remains, strikes us as particularly scholarly and truthful. The illustrations have been executed by the students of the Calcutta School of Art, under the superintendence of Mr. Locke; and well maintain the high reputation that Mr. Locke’s pupils have already gained by their beautiful and artistic illustrations of Dr. Fayrer’s *Thanatophidia* and other equally creditable works. In every way this splendid volume reflects the highest credit on every one concerned in its production—on the gentleman whose ripe scholarship and learned pen are in the first place to be thanked

for it, on the artists who illustrated it, on the Indian press (the Baptist Mission Press) that has printed it, and Messrs. Wyman who have published it, in a style hardly seen in India before, and on the Government under whose auspices it has appeared. We hope to return to a full examination of it in an early number.
